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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1913-1914

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1913-1914

VOLUME VII

EDITED BY

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

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1914

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THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This volume of the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association* covers the transactions of the Association from the close of the sixth annual meeting in 1913 to the close of the seventh annual meeting in 1914. During this period two meetings of the Association were held — one at Columbia, South Carolina, on December 31, 1913, and the other at Grand Forks, North Dakota, on May 26, 27, and 28, 1914. The regular mid-year meeting was held at Columbia, South Carolina, in connection with the regular annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The Grand Forks meeting was the seventh annual meeting of the Association. The papers and addresses of the seventh annual meeting are included in this volume, while those of the mid-year meeting have been published elsewhere. In connection with the meeting at Grand Forks there were held special meetings of both the State Historical Society of North Dakota and the History and Social Science Section of the North Dakota Educational Association. There was also a meeting of the History Teachers' Section of the Association, and a session devoted to sociological subjects. The papers read at these joint sessions are accordingly included in this volume.

For assistance in preparing the copy for the printers and in reading the proofs the editor is indebted to Miss Ethyl E. Martin, Secretary to the Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa. The index was compiled by Mr. Jacob Van der Zee, Research Associate in The State Historical Society of Iowa.

Benj. F. Shambaugh

The State Historical Society of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

I — NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

II — OBJECT

The object of the Association shall be to promote historical study and research and to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi Valley.

III — MEMBERSHIP

Membership in this Association shall be divided into three classes, namely: active, sustaining, and life members. Any one interested in the study of Mississippi Valley history may become a member in any of these classes upon payment of the dues hereinafter provided.

IV — OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall be a President, two Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, who with six other active members, and such ex-Presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee.

All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified, providing, however, that at the first election held hereunder two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected for one year, two for two years, and two for three years, and that hereafter two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually to hold office for three years.

The Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

V — MEETINGS

A regular annual meeting and a mid-year meeting of the Association shall be held on such dates and at such places as the Executive Committee may determine.

VI — DUES

The annual dues for individual active members shall be one dollar. The annual dues for library members shall be two dollars. Sustaining members — either individuals or institutions — shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of fifty dollars.

VII — AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at a previous meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Committee.

OFFICERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1913-1914

PRESIDENT

JAMES A. JAMES, PH. D.

Professor of History, Northwestern University

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

GEORGE E. VINCENT, PH. D.

President of University of Minnesota

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

ISAAC J. COX, PH. D.

Professor of History, University of Cincinnati

SECRETARY-TREASURER

CLARENCE S. PAINE

Secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In addition to above named officers

(EX-PRESIDENTS)

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON, LL. B.

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri

THOMAS M. OWEN, A. M., LL. D.

Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Alabama

CLARENCE W. ALVORD, PH. D.

Associate Professor of History, University of Illinois

ORIN G. LIBBY, PH. D.

Secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH, A. M., PH. D.
Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B.
Professor of History, University of Chicago

*REUBEN G. THWAITES, LL. D.
Secretary and Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

(ELECTED)

JAMES A. WOODBURN, PH. D.
Professor of American History, Indiana University

CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE, PH. D.
Professor of American History, University of Michigan

WILLIAM BEER
Librarian of Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, Louisiana

CLARENCE E. CARTER, PH. D.
Professor of History, Miami University

JOHN BARBER WHITE
President of Kansas City Historical Society

FREDERIC L. PAXSON, PH. D.
Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin

* Deceased.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE TEACHERS' SECTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1913-1914

CHAIRMAN

DANA C. MUNRO, A. M.

Professor of History, University of Wisconsin

SECRETARY

HOWARD C. HILL, A. M.

Professor of History, State Normal School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

MEMBERS

ALICE E. WADSWORTH, B. L.

Teacher of History, Evanston High School, Evanston, Illinois

KARL F. GEISER, PH. D.

Professor of Political Science, Oberlin College

SARA FINDLAY RICE, A. M.

Professor of History, State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa

J. NELSON KELLY, A. M.

Superintendent of City Schools, Grand Forks, North Dakota

THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1913-1914

THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1913-1914

DECEMBER MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

(Columbia, South Carolina, December 31, 1913)

REGULAR SESSION

The regular mid-year meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Columbia, South Carolina, on December 31, 1913, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The session was presided over by Mr. James A. James, President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. After an address of welcome by Mr. Wade Hampton Gibbes, Mayor of Columbia, the following papers were presented: *The Relation Between General Wilkinson and Governor Folch* by Mr. Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati, Ohio; *Some Aspects of British Policy in West Florida* by Mr. Clarence E. Carter of Oxford, Ohio; and *The South and the Right of Secession in the Early Fifties* by Mr. Arthur C. Cole of Urbana, Illinois.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

(Grand Forks, North Dakota, May 26, 27, and 28, 1914)

The seventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Grand Forks, North Dakota, on May 26, 27, and 28, 1914; and in connection with it there was held a special meeting of both the State Historical Society of North Dakota and the History and Social Science Section of the North Dakota Educational Association. In addition to the meeting of the History

Teachers' Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, a session devoted to sociological subjects was held with a view to organizing a Sociology Section. No formal action was taken, but a Committee was authorized to plan for a similar sociology program in connection with the next annual meeting of the Association and to canvass the situation with reference to the feasibility of a permanent organization.

FIRST SESSION

The first session of the seventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was a joint meeting with the State Historical Society of North Dakota, held on Tuesday, May 26th, at 9:30 o'clock, A. M., with Mr. L. B. Hanna, Governor of North Dakota, presiding. Following an address of welcome by Governor Hanna, the members were entertained by Miss Jennie Gale with a vocal solo entitled *The American Indian.*

The first paper on the program, *Texas Trails* by Miss Mary E. Peters of Dallas, Texas, was, in the absence of Miss Peters, read by title. This was followed by a paper on *The Cheyenne Indians in North Dakota* by Mr. George F. Will of Bismarck, North Dakota, which was read by Mr. Herbert C. Fish, Curator of the Historical Society of North Dakota. Owing to the absence of Mrs. Jean McNaughton Stevens of Towner, North Dakota, her paper on *The Preservation of Landmarks* was read by title. Secretary Warren Upham of St. Paul, Minnesota, then read a paper on the *Explorations and Surveys of the Minnesota and Red Rivers.* Mr. Henry Hale of Devil's Lake, North Dakota, followed and spoke extemporaneously on *The Soldier, the Advance Guard of Civilization.* The paper on *Montana as a Field for Historical Research* by Mr. Frank H. Garver of Dillon, Montana, was read by Mr. Orin G. Libby. Mr. Luther M. Kuhns closed the program of the morning with a brief discussion of the papers which had been read.

At the conclusion of the formal program Governor Hanna resigned the Chair, and Mr. Clarence S. Paine announced a brief business session. Owing to illness, President James was unable to attend the meeting, and in the absence of the First and Second Vice Presidents, Mr. George E. Vincent and Mr. Isaac J. Cox, respectively, it was necessary to elect a President pro tempore. Mr. Orin G. Libby nominated former President Benj. F. Shambaugh. There being no further nominations, Mr. Shambaugh was unanimously elected and called to the Chair.

On motion of the Secretary, seconded by Mr. Dickerson, the following committees were appointed: on Resolutions, Mr. Albert H. Sanford, Mr. Warren Upham, and Mr. Luther M. Kuhns: on Nominations, Mr. Dan E. Clark, Mr. Orin G. Libby, and Mr. William J. Trimble; on Audit, Mr. O. M. Dickerson and Mr. Herbert C. Fish.

On motion the Secretary was authorized to send greetings from the Association to President James with best wishes for an early and complete restoration to health.

On motion the session adjourned to meet at 2:00 o'clock, P. M., in the Auditorium of Woodworth Hall, the History Teachers' Section to meet at the same hour in the Auditorium of the City Hall.

SECOND SESSION

The second session, which was held on Tuesday, May 26th, at 2:00 o'clock, P. M., in the Auditorium of Woodworth Hall, was a meeting of the Sociology Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Mr. John M. Gillette of the University of North Dakota presided. The following papers were presented at this session: *Effect of Machinery on the Human Mind* by Mr. A. D. Weeks of Fargo, North Dakota; *Some Legal Aspects of Correctional Work* by Mr. R. W. Craig of Winnipeg, Canada; *Factors in Race Betterment* by Mr. Rudolph Acher of

Valley City, North Dakota; *The State and the Immigrant* by Mr. J. S. Woodworth of Winnipeg, Canada; *The Relation Between the State University and the Daily Press* by Mr. T. J. Malone of Minneapolis, Minnesota; and *Sociology and Community Welfare Work* by Mr. J. L. Gillin of Madison, Wisconsin. In the absence of Mr. Woodworth, his paper was read by Mr. F. M. McCoy. Mr. Gillin was not present and his paper was read by Mr. George R. Davies.

THIRD SESSION

The History Teachers' Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held a meeting on Tuesday, May 26th, at 2:00 o'clock, P. M., in the Auditorium of the City Hall. The city schools had been dismissed for the afternoon and the Superintendent, Mr. J. Nelson Kelly, presided over one of the best attended sessions of the entire meeting. The program opened with music. The first paper was by Mr. O. M. Dickerson of Winona, Minnesota, on *The General Problem of the Use of Supplementary Reading in the Teaching of History, as Disclosed by an Investigation of High School Conditions in Minnesota.* The discussion of the paper was led by Mr. C. M. Correll of Mayville, North Dakota. *The Use of Supplementary Reading in the Teaching of Ancient History* was presented by Mr. S. H. Dodson of Valley City, North Dakota. Mr. William J. Trimble of Fargo, North Dakota, read a paper on *The Use of Supplementary Reading in the Teaching of European History*, and Mr. A. C. Krey of Minneapolis, Minnesota, led in the discussion which followed. The session was concluded by a paper on *The Use of Supplementary Reading in the Teaching of American History* presented by Mr. William H. Shepard of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was held on Tuesday, May 26th, at 8:30 o'clock, P. M., in the Auditorium of Woodworth Hall, with Mr. Frank L. McVey, President of the Uni-

versity of North Dakota, presiding. In place of the annual address of the President of the Association, which was scheduled for this hour, Mr. McVey introduced Mr. Marion D. Learned of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who spoke extemporaneously on *European Immigration to the United States*. Following the regular program, a reception for members and guests was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. McVey.

FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was held on Wednesday, May 27th, at the Auditorium of the City Hall. The meeting was called to order at 9:00 o'clock, A. M., by Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh. The program was opened with a paper on *Stephen A. Douglas and the Split in the Democratic Party* by Mr. O. M. Dickerson of Winona, Minnesota. This was followed by a paper on *The Westward Movement in the Upper Mississippi Valley During the Fifties* by Mr. Dan E. Clark of Iowa City, Iowa. An informal discussion of this subject was led by Mr. Aaron Mc G. Beede. The paper on *The Organization of the Jacksonian Party in Indiana* by Mr. Logan Esarey of Bloomington, Indiana, was read by title, as was also the paper by Mr. Doane Robinson of Pierre, South Dakota, on *The Verendrye Plate. The Hudson's Bay Company's Fur Trade Monopoly in the Red River Settlement, 1821-1850*, was the subject of a paper by Mr. Chester Martin of Winnipeg, Canada, which was read by Mr. Sveinbjorn Johnson of Grand Forks, North Dakota. Owing to the absence of Mr. Ensley Moore of Jacksonville, Illinois, and the lateness of the hour, his paper on *The Place of Jacksonville, Illinois, in the History of the Northwest* was read by title.

At the close of the regular program the report of the Committee on Nominations was called for. Mr. Dan E. Clark submitted the report of the Committee, which recommended the election of the following officers for the ensuing year: for President, Mr. Isaac J. Cox; for First

Vice President, Mr. Guy S. Ford; for Second Vice President, Mr. Frederic L. Paxson; for Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Clarence S. Paine; for members of the Executive Committee for a term of three years, Mr. M. M. Quaife and Mr. William E. Connelley. On motion of Mr. Warren Upham the report was adopted, the rules were suspended, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the members present for the election of the nominees. The ballot being cast, the President declared the foregoing officers and members of the Executive Committee elected for the terms named.

SIXTH SESSION

The sixth session was held in the Auditorium of Woodworth Hall on Wednesday, May 27th, at 2:00 o'clock, P. M. The first paper was by Mr. R. C. Wallace of Winnipeg, Canada, on the subject of *The History of the Salt Industry in Western Canada.* Mr. Paul C. Phillips of Missoula, Montana, read a paper on *American Opinions Regarding the West, 1778-1783. An Army Surgeon's Letters to His Wife* was the subject of a paper by Mr. Luther M. Kuhns, Secretary of the Luther League of America. *The Jefferson-Lemen Tradition in Early Illinois Anti-Slavery History* was presented by Mr. Willard C. McNaul of Grand Forks, North Dakota. The paper entitled *A Critical Analysis of the Work of Reuben Gold Thwaites* by Mr. Clarence W. Alvord was not read, owing to the lateness of the hour. A few extemporaneous remarks on the work of Mr. Thwaites were made by Mr. Orin G. Libby of Grand Forks, North Dakota.

Mr. Warren Upham called attention to the recent death of Mr. George W. Martin, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, and suggested a suitable memorial. On motion of the Secretary, seconded by Mr. Upham, the President was authorized to appoint a committee of three to draft a memorial of Mr. Martin to be published in the next volume of the *Proceedings.* President Cox

named Mr. Warren Upham, Mr. William E. Connelley, and Mr. Francis A. Sampson, and the following memorial was later submitted:

George Washington Martin was born at Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, June 30, 1841. He died at Topeka, Kansas, March 27, 1914. He was the son of David and Mary Howel Martin. In 1819 David Martin came to Indiana County, Pennsylvania, from County Antrim, Ireland, where his father had moved from Scotland. Mary Howel was born at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Her mother came from Wales. It will therefore be seen that George W. Martin was of pure Gaelic blood. He was a staunch Presbyterian.

Martin grew up at Hollidaysburg, where he worked in a newspaper office, becoming a fair printer. In the spring of 1857 he came with his parents to Kansas. He crossed the line at Westport on the 8th of April, and from that date he was a thorough Kansan. He walked from Kansas City to Lecompton. Near this place his father had taken a claim and established a home; here Martin found work in the local newspaper office. The paper was intensely pro-slavery, but was soon succeeded by the *National Democrat*, a moderate paper, upon the force of which he worked at his trade until 1859, when he went to Philadelphia. There he worked as a printer until 1861, when he returned to Kansas never to leave it again.

Martin's life work in Kansas may be said to have begun when he founded the *Union* at Junction City in 1861. It was for five years the most westerly paper published in Kansas, and as long as Martin remained with it — until 1888 — it exercised great influence on Kansas politics. With it and through it he made John A. Anderson a member of Congress as an independent Republican, and defeated John P. St. John for Governor. And the smaller fry that fell before him are innumerable. By the position and prestige of his paper and the power he had come to wield, he was made State Printer in 1873, which office he held for four terms or eight years.

Martin held other offices in Kansas. In fact he was rarely without an office. He was Federal Assessor, Register of the Land Office at Junction City, and Postmaster. His office-holding exceeded forty years.

In 1888 Martin sold the Junction City *Union* and moved to Kansas City, Kansas, and bought the *Gazette*. This proved a losing venture and it ruined him financially. It also terminated his newspaper career. For in 1899 he was appointed Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. This office he held until the 16th of February, 1914, when he resigned because of an illness that was slowly taking him to his grave. He lived but little more than a month after his resignation.

No man in Kansas ever surpassed Martin as a newspaper man. He was bold and fearless, but just. He fought for what he believed was right. He was patient and could wait.

As Secretary of the Historical Society he did splendid work. Secretary Adams had placed the Society on a firm foundation but had not made it popular with the people. Martin brought it into close touch with the public and made it a popular institution through his wide acquaintance and familiarity with Kansas sentiment and Kansas institutions. The Society grew in all its departments under his wise and able management, and he was one of the factors in securing the erection of the Memorial Building for its use when it had outgrown its quarters in the State House. He did not live to see the Society housed in this magnificent structure, and this was perhaps the greatest disappointment of his life.

Mr. Martin attended the first meeting which was called for the purpose of organizing the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and was elected a member of the first Executive Committee. He attended every meeting of the Association until 1913 when failing health prevented his further participation in public work.

Kansas has been fortunate. Her public men have been as a rule patriotic and strenuous workers for the State. But she never had a more faithful public servant than George W. Martin.

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented as follows:

The Committee on auditing the books of the Secretary-Treasurer has audited the books and finds the accounts correct.

On motion of Mr. Libby the report of the Committee was adopted.

The Secretary then read the following report of Mr.

Clarence W. Alvord as Managing Editor of the *Review*:

At the fifth annual meeting of the Association in May, 1912, a Committee, consisting of Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. James A. James, and Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, was appointed to investigate the advisability of establishing a Quarterly Historical Review under the auspices of the Association, providing a sufficient sum was guaranteed for its support. The Committee was instructed to report on the possibility of obtaining a sufficient number of scientific papers to assure the success of such an enterprise. At the sixth annual meeting of the Association at Omaha last May this Committee reported that it had received assurance from a large number of historians that they would furnish articles and assist in reviewing books, and also that a sufficiently large sum of money would be guaranteed by individuals and organizations interested in such a Review to warrant the Association in authorizing the publication of a quarterly magazine and in empowering the Executive Committee to appoint a Board of Editors. In accordance with this resolution, the Executive Committee appointed the following members of the Board of Editors, the first three to serve for one year, the second three for two years, and the last three for three years: Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. Eugene C. Barker, Mr. Claude H. Van Tyne, Mr. James A. James, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Walter L. Fleming, Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, and Mr. Archer B. Hulbert. Mr. Clarence W. Alvord was elected Managing Editor. The vacancy on the Board of Editors caused by the death of Mr. Thwaites was filled by the appointment of Mr. Frederic L. Paxson.

Before any action could be taken looking to the publication of the *Review*, it was necessary to secure a guaranty sum sufficiently large to cover the expense of publication, so that no loss whatever would fall upon the Association. It was decided that the best policy was to ask for large guaranty sums rather than to raise the money by popular subscription. The following men and institutions have guaranteed jointly the sum of two thousand and seventy-five dollars annually for three years: Mr. Lewis F. Crawford of Sentinel Butte, North Dakota; Mr. John W. Fristoe of St. Louis, Missouri; Mr. Frank O. Lowden of Oregon, Illinois; Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick of Chicago, Illinois; Mr. George L.

Rives of New York City; Mr. Otto L. Schmidt of Chicago, Illinois; Mr. Justin H. Smith of Boston, Massachusetts; Mr. John B. White of Kansas City, Missouri; Northwestern University; University of Nebraska; University of Illinois; University of Chicago; Louisiana State Historical Society; Illinois State Historical Society; Nebraska State Historical Society; State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and North Dakota State Historical Society.

The amount subscribed was large enough to warrant the calling of a meeting of the Board of Editors at Charleston, South Carolina, at the time of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1913. At this meeting many important details in regard to the *Review* were settled; but it was necessary that another meeting should be held in February, 1914, at Chicago, when final arrangements were made.

Members of the Association have received announcements that the *Review* will appear on June 1st, and nothing has occurred since that announcement to prevent the fulfilment of the promise. Before this report has gone into final form, your Managing Editor will have sent back the last proof of the *Review*. He does not feel that he should spoil your pleasure in the anticipation of a good thing by telling you at this time what the first number of the *Review* will contain, but he does believe that you will be pleased with the high standard which it has been possible to establish in the opening number.

The field of the *Review* is the Mississippi Valley in its very broadest extent, but since the countries to the north and south have been closely identified with the development of the Valley, articles on Canadian and Mexican history may appear within its pages. The question of the limits for the department of book reviews has been much discussed by the editors and their friends. It has seemed to the editors only fair to the readers of the *Review* that they should be informed of the current books on American History. This department will therefore be more catholic than the department devoted to articles, although it will not be the policy of the editors to review books devoted exclusively to local Eastern history.

In closing, your Managing Editor asks for cordial coöperation in this enterprise from various local societies, departments of archives, and universities. This *Review* belongs to the institu-

tions of this character in the great Valley, and these local institutions should take pride in the growth of the *Review* and should keep the Managing Editor informed of the historical work that is being done in their localities.

On motion the report of the Managing Editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* was adopted.

The following report of the Chairman of the Publication Committee, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, was read by the Secretary:

The Publication Committee ever since it was created has been obliged to show its ability chiefly by making excuses, and this year it is in no better condition than it was last. Your Committee promised that there would be a volume of Collections in your hands at this annual meeting or at least that this volume would be in press. Neither of these alternatives is a correct statement to-day, but your Chairman is able to state that the difficulties that have beset this first volume have been overcome in a measure, and that the introduction to the reprints of pamphlets is in such condition as will make it possible to put it in shape before the summer is closed. Thus there will be nothing to do but to print the volume. The introduction is not what your Chairman would have wished. It may therefore be necessary for him to put the finishing touches on it himself, unless he can find some graduate student who will have the ability to do it.

On motion the report of the Publication Committee was adopted.

Mr. Albert H. Sanford submitted the following report of the Committee on Resolutions:

Your Committee beg leave to report for adoption the following resolutions:

That we state most emphatically once more our faith in the future of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and in the value both of the work it has accomplished and of that which shall be undertaken in years to come.

That we express to our President, Mr. James A. James, sympathy for the misfortune which kept him from attendance at this meeting and our good wishes for the future.

That our thanks are due to Governor L. B. Hanna for his

attendance upon this meeting and for the gracious manner in which he presided and welcomed the members of the Association who came from a distance.

That we are deeply indebted to President Frank L. McVey for his interest in our proceedings and for the delightful reception on Tuesday evening.

That we express our hearty appreciation of the hospitality and many courtesies shown to us as members of this Association and guests in the city of Grand Forks, and that our thanks are especially due to the Commercial Club of Grand Forks for the banquet on Wednesday evening and for many other favors; to President McVey and the officers and faculty of the University of North Dakota for the use of the University Auditorium and for the supper on Thursday evening; to the State Historical Society of North Dakota and especially to their Secretary, Mr. Orin G. Libby, for their cordiality and for the many favors that assisted in making our visit and meetings enjoyable; to Mr. J. Nelson Kelly and the officers of the public school system of Grand Forks for their coöperation in working for the success of the meeting, and to the local press for their interest and courtesy in the matter of publicity.

On motion the report of the Committee on Resolutions was adopted.

On motion the meeting adjourned to meet at the City Hall on Thursday, May 28th, at 2:00 o'clock, P. M.

SEVENTH SESSION

At 7:30 o'clock, P. M., on Wednesday, May 27th, the Commercial Club of Grand Forks gave a banquet at the University Commons to the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Mr. Allen D. Albert of Minneapolis, Minnesota, acted as toastmaster, and the following program of toasts and musical numbers was presented: *Pioneers Then and Now* by Mr. Frank L. McVey of Grand Forks, North Dakota; *An American From the Baltic* by Mr. Luther M. Kuhns, Secretary Luther League of America; tenor solo by Mr. Ernest Schlafer; *The Making of History in the Great Northwest* by Mr. C.

F. Amidon of Fargo, North Dakota; *Problems for Research in the West* by Mr. Marion D. Learned of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; *The Building of a Commonwealth* by Mr. Andrew A. Bruce of Bismarck, North Dakota; bass solo by Mr. William Norton; and *Our Neighbors of the South* by Mr. R. F. McWilliams of Winnipeg, Canada.

Music was furnished by the University of North Dakota Orchestra under the direction of Mr. W. W. Norton; and college songs were rendered by the seniors and juniors of the University under the direction of Miss Eva Rorke and Mr. J. H. Moore.

EIGHTH SESSION

This session was held at Woodworth Hall on Thursday, May 28th, at 9:00 o'clock, A. M., with Mr. Joseph Kennedy of Grand Forks, North Dakota, presiding. Mr. John M. Gillette of Grand Forks, North Dakota, opened the program with a paper on *The Training of History Teachers*. Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, who was to have led in the discussion of this paper, was called away from the meeting, and Mr. H. R. Brush of Grand Forks, North Dakota, discussed the paper informally. He was followed by Mr. Aaron Mc G. Beede, Mr. Joseph L. Kingsbury, Mrs. Minnie C. Budlong, Mr. T. J. Malone, Mr. Luther M. Kuhns, Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. R. M. Black, Mr. William H. Shepard, and Mr. Herbert C. Fish. In the absence of Mr. J. S. Young of Minneapolis, Minnesota, his paper on *The Civic Value of Public School History* was read by Mr. P. H. Lehman of Grand Forks, North Dakota. The discussion was led by Mr. R. M. Black of Wahpeton, North Dakota.

At the close of the regular program a short business session was held, when the following resolution was presented by a committee appointed on motion of Mr. O. M. Dickerson:

Resolved, That the Mississippi Valley Historical Association should appoint a committee of seven to ascertain common stand-

ards for libraries and library work, acceptable to the history teachers and schools of the Middle West, and should empower it to seek the aid of other teachers' organizations in extending such standardization to the schools of the whole country.

On motion of Mr. Dickerson the resolution was adopted.

The Committee on Nomination of officers of the History Teachers' Section submitted the following report: for Chairman, Mr. Karl F. Geiser of Oberlin, Ohio; for Secretary, Mr. Howard C. Hill of Milwaukee, Wisconsin; for members of the Executive Committee, Mr. Dana C. Munro and Mr. Oliver M. Dickerson.

The report of the Committee was adopted and the foregoing officers declared elected.

NINTH SESSION

The ninth session was held in the Auditorium of the City Hall on Thursday, May 28th, at 2:00 o'clock, P. M., with Mr. W. H. Mann presiding. The regular program was preceded by an adjourned business session. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was presented, and on motion was accepted and ordered printed in the *Proceedings*. Mr. Orin G. Libby nominated Mr. Edgar R. Harlan as a member of the Executive Committee for a term of two years to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Paxson, elected Second Vice President. There being no other nominations, Mr. Harlan was elected by acclamation.

The Secretary presented a resolution which had been adopted by the History Teachers' Section for the appointment of a Committee of seven on Standards for Libraries and Library Work. On motion it was voted to concur in the recommendation of the History Teachers' Section, and the President was authorized to name such a Committee.

On the recommendation of the Secretary, the President was authorized to appoint a Membership Committee of five members. The selection of three members of the

Board of Editors of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for a term of three years was referred to the Executive Committee. In the absence of a meeting of the Executive Committee, President Cox later reappointed Mr. Eugene C. Barker, Mr. Claude H. Van Tyne, and Mr. Orin G. Libby to succeed themselves.

To meet the requirements of the Post-office Department, the Secretary presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to proceed at once to the publication of a quarterly to be known as the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, with Mr. Clarence W. Alvord of Urbana, Illinois, as Managing Editor, and Mr. Clarence S. Paine of Lincoln, Nebraska, as Business Manager.

That the subscription price of said *Review*, to active and library members of the Association, shall be two dollars annually, and to non-members three dollars annually; and that the said magazine shall be furnished to all life and sustaining members without further payment.

On motion the resolution was adopted.

On motion the President was authorized to name a Committee of three to arrange a program for a Sociology Section in connection with the next annual meeting, and to consider plans for a permanent organization of such a Section.

A request to coöperate with the hereditary patriotic societies was referred to the Executive Committee with instructions to give the matter thorough consideration.

A communication from Mr. Charles A. Hanna of New York City, protesting against the alleged incorrect inscription on the monument erected to mark the site of the Sandusky Forts, was on motion referred to the Committee on Historic Sites with instructions to investigate and prepare a report for the next annual meeting.

Mr. Orin G. Libby proposed the following resolution to lay upon the table:

Resolved, That paragraph I, Article IV, of the Constitution be amended by the addition of the following words:

"Providing that all ex-Presidents who have served on the Executive Committee for six consecutive years shall from and after that time no longer be members of the Executive Committee."

At the conclusion of the business session of the Association the regular program was taken up. After a musical number, the first paper was read by Mr. W. G. Bek of Grand Forks, North Dakota, who had for his subject *The Germans of North Dakota.* After another musical number, the meeting was concluded by a paper on *German Migration to the Mississippi and Missouri* by Mr. Marion D. Learned of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

TENTH SESSION

At 6:00 o'clock, P. M., on Thursday, May 28th, the members of the Association were guests of the University of North Dakota at a supper given at the University Commons. The supper was followed by an informal reception. The program of entertainment was to have been concluded by an *Historical Pageant of the Northwest* by the Sock and Buskin Society of the University, but this had to be postponed on account of the weather.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(May, 1914)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(May, 1914)

The most important work of this Association during the year has been the successful launching of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. While the magazine has not yet appeared, we can regard it as an accomplished fact, since the preliminaries have all been arranged and the first number is now upon the press.

Upon authority given at the last annual meeting, the Executive Committee named a Board of Editors and selected Mr. Clarence W. Alvord as Managing Editor. This Board of Editors has held two meetings during the year, and the members have actively coöperated with the Managing Editor, who has submitted to them all important matters by correspondence. The burden of the work, however, has fallen upon Mr. Alvord, and great credit is due him for his indefatigable efforts, his persistency, and the tireless energy with which he has prosecuted this undertaking.

Mr. Alvord's first efforts were given to the work of raising the guaranty fund which was required by the Association, in which he was assisted by the Secretary, and we are able to report a total subscription of $2075 for the first year, as follows: Chicago University, one hundred dollars; Mr. Lewis F. Crawford, fifty dollars; Mr. John W. Fristoe, two hundred dollars; Illinois State Historical Society, two hundred dollars; Louisiana Historical Society, fifty dollars; Mr. Frank O. Lowden, fifty dollars; Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick, two hundred dollars; Nebraska State Historical Society, one hundred dollars; North Dakota State Historical Society, one hundred and fifty dollars; Northwestern University, fifty dollars; Mr. George

L. Rives, twenty-five dollars; Mr. Otto L. Schmidt, two hundred dollars; Mr. Justin H. Smith, one hundred dollars; University of Illinois, one hundred dollars; Mr. John B. White, two hundred dollars; State Historical Society of Wisconsin, two hundred dollars; and University of Nebraska, one hundred dollars.

Most of these subscriptions are pledged annually for three years; others are made for one year with the understanding that a similar subscription will be made for the next two years; and a few of the subscriptions have minor conditions, which, however, do not affect their availability.

The work of raising this fund required so much time that, when we were finally prepared to ask for advertising and subscriptions, there remained but little time in which to make the canvass. As a result the first number will contain only a limited amount of advertising. We do not, however, want a great quantity of advertising, and for this reason the rates were placed rather high.

It was decided by the Board of Editors to send the magazine to all life and sustaining members of the Association and to all subscribers to the guaranty fund without further payment. Many of these have, however, declined to avail themselves of this opportunity, and have insisted upon paying the regular price.

The subscription price was placed at two dollars to members and three dollars to non-members, that is, to all subscribers within the territory embraced in the limits of the domestic rate of postage on second class matter. The total number of subscribers enrolled to date is two hundred and seventy. It is proposed to send the first number as a sample copy to all members of the Association, with a second appeal for subscriptions.

Before finally entering upon the publication of this magazine there was a serious question as to whether it could be made to succeed. With the first number now upon the press, there can be no further question — it must

succeed. The only question now is how much of a sacrifice members of this Association must make for its success. If all the members will feel their personal responsibility in the matter, there need be no great effort on the part of anyone, but it will take a long, hard pull together to put the publication upon a self-sustaining basis within the period covered by the subscriptions to the guaranty fund. It is respectfully urged that additional subscriptions to this guaranty fund should be obtained and every effort made to secure the renewal of the present subscriptions before the lapse of the three years. There is no good reason why a permanent guaranty fund of $5000 annually can not be had, provided we demonstrate that there is a real field for a quarterly historical magazine in the Mississippi Valley, and provided that we make the magazine of real value to the institutions and individuals who are now so ready to give it their support.

The following contract has been entered into with The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, for the printing of the magazine:

Whereas the Mississippi Valley Historical Association proposes to publish a quarterly magazine, to be known as the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, this agreement is made and entered into this eighteenth day of May, 1914, by and between the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lincoln, Nebraska, hereinafter called party of the first part and The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, hereinafter called party of the second part, and provides:

1. *Size and Quantity.* That each number of said *Review* shall contain approximately 160 pages; that the numbers shall be published quarterly beginning June 1, 1914; that there shall be printed 2000 copies of the first number, and of each number thereafter there shall be printed not less than 500, nor more than 1000 copies.

2. *Editorial Work.* That the party of the first part agrees to provide the editorial work and to manage the *Review* in such a manner as shall cause it to be known and recognized as a first class magazine of its kind; that the copy for each number

shall be furnished in time for prompt publication, and without expense for editorial work to party of the second part.

3. *Composition.* The magazine shall be set in perfect type, DeVinne series, machine style and face. The body shall be printed in 11 point type, documents in 10 point, and notes in 8 point, all to be leaded with 2 point leads. The index is to be set in 8 point, solid, double columns. The foot-notes and index are to be set in type of the same style and series as the text. The size of the type page shall be 27 x 45 ems.

4. *Press Work.* The press work is to be carefully, uniformly, and evenly done throughout with a good quality of black book ink.

5. *Paper.* A first class book paper shall be used, namely: Extra A, 28 x 42, 70 lb., folded and trimmed to 6¾ x 10¼ inches. The paper used in advertising pages is to be of the same kind, weight, and quality as that used in the body of the magazine.

6. *Binding.* The magazine is to be sewed with good linen thread in 16 page forms, and trimmed on three sides. The cover is to be glued, is to overlap the edges at least one-fourth of an inch, and shall be lettered on back-bone. Each number is to be securely wrapped in manila paper ready for mailing.

7. *Cover.* The cover shall be of universal colored paper, gray 23 x 34, 75 lb., and shall overlap edges at least one-fourth of an inch.

8. *Proofs.* Party of the second part shall furnish to the Managing Editor two galley proofs, one page proof, and two revised page proofs, and shall furnish to the Business Manager two proofs of all advertisements, and one revised page proof. Party of the second part shall also furnish at their office a competent proof reader to read proof for typographical errors.

9. *Price.* The price for printing is to be computed upon the following basis per 1000 copies: 11 point type, $2.10 per page; 10 point type, $2.20 per page; 8 point type, $2.65 per page; advertising matter, $3.50 per page; half-tone cuts or other inserts, $6.00 per leaf; blank pages, $1.20 per page; extra copies over 1000 to be at the rate of $16.00 per 100 for 160 pages.

10. *Separates.* Party of the second part shall furnish separates of any article printed in the *Review* on the following terms: for a four-page reprint, 25 copies, $1.00; additional

copies, $1.00 per 100; for an eight-page reprint, 25 copies, $1.75; additional copies, $1.25 per 100; for a twelve-page reprint, 25 copies, $2.75; additional copies, $1.50 per 100; for a sixteen-page or more, in multiples of a four-page, 25 copies, twenty-five cents per page; additional copies, ten cents per page per 100.

Such reprints are to be without change in the folio lines and without covers, but are to have inserted a line indicating the source. For covers on separates and change in folio lines, it is agreed that there may be an extra charge of $1.25 for 25 copies and additional copies at the rate of $1.00 per 100.

11. *Matrices.* Party of the second part shall make matrices of all material entering into each number of the magazine, and preserve same in fire-proof vaults, for which they shall receive ten cents per page.

12. *Advertising.* The party of the second part agrees to advertise the *Review* in the published lists and catalogues of The Torch Press Book Company without charge and in any announcements sent to those likely to be interested in a magazine of this class.

13. *Time.* This contract, shall run for a term of three years from date and shall at that time be subject to renewal upon terms to be mutually agreeable, provided, however, that after the first year this contract may be terminated by either party upon six months' notice.

The party of the second part shall print the magazine in first class and workmanlike manner, in every way worthy of their own reputation as publishers, and shall issue the same promptly upon the announced dates of publication, and deliver as directed.

So much time has been given to the work of introducing the magazine that little effort has been made toward increasing the membership; but notwithstanding this our records show a substantial increase for the year, even after deducting the large number which we have dropped for non-payment of dues. Little of this increase can be directly attributed to the decision to publish the *Review*, although it is believed that this will have a tendency to increase the membership of the Association in the future.

The question has been raised as to the advisability of discontinuing the annual volume of *Proceedings* and publishing the proceedings in the magazine, but it has not yet been satisfactorily shown that this would be for the best interests of the Association. It would certainly involve a considerable increase in the annual dues and probably a corresponding decrease in the membership. It might be advisable to publish the volume of *Proceedings* as a supplement to the *Review*, which would mean a great saving in postage. If both the *Proceedings* and the magazine were to be furnished to all members, then the annual dues would have to be raised to four dollars. These questions ought to be considered at the present meeting.

At the Omaha meeting a Committee composed of Mr. St. George L. Sioussat, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, and Mr. Orin G. Libby was appointed to arrange a program for the usual joint session with the American Historical Association to be held in December, 1913. This session was held at Columbia, South Carolina, on December 31st, President James A. James of this Association presiding. Following an address of welcome by Mr. Wade Hampton Gibbes, Mayor of Columbia, three papers were read. *The Relation Between General Wilkinson and Governor Folch* was presented by Mr. Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati, Ohio. This was followed by a paper by Mr. Clarence E. Carter of Oxford, Ohio, on *Some Aspects of British Policy in West Florida*. A paper by Mr. Arthur C. Cole of Urbana, Illinois, on *The South and the Right of Secession in the Early Fifties* concluded one of the best mid-year meetings which the Association has held.

That members of this Association who are not members of the American Historical Association did not receive programs for this meeting is due to the fact that the Program Committee of the American Historical Association, which has heretofore sent programs to all members of this Association, neglected to do so for the Charleston-Columbia meeting.

Upon the request of Mr. Gifford Pinchot, Chairman of a Committee of the Washington Academy of Sciences charged with the duty of preparing a suitable memorial to the late Mr. W J McGee, President James named the following Committee representing this Association to coöperate with the Committee of the Washington Academy of Sciences: Mr. William J. Bryan, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, Mr. James Mooney, Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, and the Secretary.

The following resolutions, drafted by Mr. Shambaugh, were signed by each member of the Executive Committee and submitted to the General Committee by Mr. James Mooney at a meeting held in Washington, D. C., on December 5, 1913:

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association desires at this time to express its high appreciation of the services of the late Mr. W J McGee. His work as a geologist, and especially his extensive geological survey of northeastern Iowa, was of a high order of excellence and of historical as well as scientific value. As an anthropologist and ethnologist he contributed largely to knowledge concerning the Indian tribes of the Mississippi Valley, a field in which this Association has always taken a great interest. Finally, his services in the Department of Agriculture and on the Inland Waterways Commission can not be overestimated in their importance to the people of the Middle West.

Dr. McGee was generous in his encouragement of this Association in the work which it has endeavored to perform, and whenever possible he rendered active assistance. In May, 1910, he delivered before this Association an address on *The Conservation of Natural Resources*, which was a source of inspiration as well as of information. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, therefore, recognizes in the death of Dr. McGee a distinct loss to the cause which this Association represents.

In 1910 the Secretary, on the authority of the Executive Committee, had a bill drawn and introduced in Congress for the federal incorporation of this Association. This bill has since been before Congress and in committee, but we have been unable to secure favorable action

upon it. As some form of incorporation seemed desirable, the Secretary, with the President of the Nebraska State Historical Society, the Chancellor of the State University, the State Librarian, and Mr. Horace S. Wiggins, have incorporated the Association under the laws of the State of Nebraska. We shall continue to press the matter of federal incorporation with the hope of ultimate success. The following articles of incorporation were filed for record on May 23, 1914:

We, the undersigned, residents of Nebraska, hereby associate ourselves together for the purpose of forming a Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and become incorporated as such.

I. The name of this corporation shall be "The Mississippi Valley Historical Association".

II. The object of the Association shall be to make and promote historical study and research in the Mississippi Valley; to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi Valley; to locate and mark historic places; to publish books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other printed matter relative to such historical research, and do any and all things proper or necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Association.

III. The principal place of business of this corporation shall be in the City of Lincoln, State of Nebraska.

IV. It shall exist for one hundred years.

V. The officers of the Association shall be a President, two Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, who with six other active members, and such ex-Presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee.

All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified, providing, however, that at the first election held hereunder two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected for one year, two for two years, and two for three years, and that hereafter two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually to hold office for three years.

The Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association, including the calling of meetings and

selection of papers to be read. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

VI. This corporation shall have no capital stock except the good will of its members and depends for funds upon voluntary contributions and such dues from members as shall be provided for in the By-laws that may be enacted.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our names this twenty-third day of May, 1914.

John Lee Webster
S. Avery
Horace S. Wiggins
Clarence S. Paine
Harry C. Lindsay

State of Nebraska } ss:
Lancaster County }

On this twenty-third day of May, 1914, before me, the undersigned, a notary public, in and for said county, came John Lee Webster, S. Avery, Horace S. Wiggins, Clarence S. Paine and Harry C. Lindsay known to me to be the same persons who signed the foregoing articles of association and each severally acknowledged the execution thereof as his voluntary act and deed.

Witness my hand and notarial seal the day and year above written.

Sam B. Iiams,
Notary Public

This Association should have a Membership Committee, a live committee, a committee that will do such work as has been done by Mr. Libby, Mr. Upham, and a few others who might be named. So far this work has fallen largely upon the Secretary, who has not the influence in securing members that a local committeeman would have.

The time is ripe now for an aggressive campaign for new members. There are thousands who need only to have the claims of the Association brought to their attention in order to enlist their active and hearty support.

The organization of the History Teachers' Section has not been so advantageous to the Association as it

should have been, but it has been profitable to the teachers in so far as they have availed themselves of the privileges of membership in the Association. That more of the teachers have not been enrolled is due perhaps less to their lack of interest than to the lack of activity on the part of the officers of the Teachers' Section.

The effort now being made to organize a Sociology Section of this Association is deserving of support, but the ultimate success of this movement must rest with the sociologists upon whom will fall the burden of carrying the work forward.

For some time past representatives of patriotic hereditary societies have urged that such organizations be given recognition by this Association. It seems that we might make some concession to secure the coöperation of this large body of patriotic men and women, either by forming a section or by giving them a place on the programs or in the columns of the *Review*. The Secretary has no disposition to urge this, but feels the necessity of interesting as many people and as many organizations as possible, to the end that a larger number of people may be reached by the work which we are doing and be led to coöperate more fully in that work.

An elective course in historical investigation offered by the departments of history in the State universities of the Mississippi Valley, for which students might register and prepare papers to be read at the meetings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association or to be printed in its publications, would be a great incentive to history students and investigators. It is respectfully recommended that a special Committee be appointed to bring about such coöperation with the universities.

The Program Committee for this meeting, as named by President James, was as follows: Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Mr. Dana C. Munro, Mr. Guy S. Ford, and Mr. Carl R. Fish. These members together with the local committees, representing the city of Grand

Forks, the State University of North Dakota, and the Commercial Club of Grand Forks, are responsible for the arrangements for this meeting, which promises to be one of the most successful which the Association has ever held. Certainly this Program Committee has made a record that future committees will find it difficult to excel, and great credit is due Mr. Libby and his associates.

Invitations have been received from a number of cities which solicit the privilege of entertaining the eighth annual meeting of the Association in 1915. The Secretary will present these to the Executive Committee, which under the Constitution is authorized to name the date and place of meeting. The following cities through their convention bureaus, commercial organizations, and other similar bodies have extended such invitations: San Francisco, St. Louis, New Orleans, Chicago, and Jacksonville, Illinois.

Some of the standing committees of the Association have been doing exceptionally good work during the year. This is especially true of the Committee on the Place of Normal Schools in Preparing High School Teachers of History. A questionaire was sent out by this Committee in December last with a circular letter, with what results the Secretary is not advised.

Mr. Wayland J. Chase, Chairman of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History, reports progress and asks to have the Committee reorganized and continued. Mr. Evarts B. Greene, Chairman of the Committee on the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities, has had some difficulty in learning just what had been accomplished by his predecessor and is therefore not prepared to report at this meeting. Mr. Frank P. Goodwin, Chairman of the Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum, will probably be prepared to report at this meeting.

An unusually large number of deaths among the mem-

bers of the Association must be reported at this time. The following have been reported to the Secretary: Mr. Horace E. Horton, Chicago, Illinois, July 29, 1912; Mr. William H. Maher, Toledo, Ohio, February 1, 1913; Mr. Warren S. Dungan, Chariton, Iowa, May 9, 1913; Miss Alice Goodell, Columbus, Ohio, May 19, 1913; Mr. William J. Patrick, Bowling Green, Missouri, August 18, 1913; Mr. Samuel J. Crawford, Topeka, Kansas, October 21, 1913; Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Madison, Wisconsin, October 22, 1913; Mr. George D. Perkins, Sioux City, Iowa, February 3, 1914; Mr. Alceé Fortier, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 14, 1914; Mr. Maurice J. Dorney, Chicago, Illinois, March 15, 1914; Mr. Byron L. Smith, Chicago, Illinois, March 22, 1914; Mr. George W. Martin, Topeka, Kansas, March 27, 1914; Mr. Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee, Illinois, April 1, 1914; Mr. Newton H. Winchell, Minneapolis, Minnesota, May 2, 1914; Mr. A. H. Thompson, Topeka, Kansas, May, 1914; Mr. Nelson W. Evans, Portsmouth, Ohio, 1913; and Mr. Charles E. Dana, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Receipts

Cash receipts from membership dues and sale of publications from May 6, 1913, to May 23, 1914, per list attached and made part of this report	$1298.49	
Receipts from *Review* subscriptions	204.50	
Receipts from *Review* advertising	5.00	
Receipts from *Review* Guaranty Fund	450.00	
Balance on hand May 6, 1913	79.09	
Total receipts		$2037.08

Disbursements

Disbursements from May 6, 1913, to May 23, 1914, per vouchers attached and made part of this report:

General Expenditures		
Printing *Proceedings* . .	$348.90	
Postage and express . .	236.41	
Freight and drayage . .	20.22	
Clerical work and salary of secretary	528.00	
Miscellaneous printing .	107.35	
Office supplies	42.90	
Traveling expenses . .	10.55	
History Teachers' Section — miscellaneous . . .	7.50	
Miscellaneous	.80	
		$1302.63
Review Expenditures		
Traveling expense . .	$192.16	
Postage and express . .	89.77	
Clerical work	206.00	
Miscellaneous printing .	83.85	
Office supplies	1.60	
Editorial Office — miscellaneous	66.15	
		$ 639.53
Total disbursements		$1942.16
Balance on hand		94.92

Respectfully submitted,
C. S. Paine, Secretary-Treasurer

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE DECEMBER MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Columbia, South Carolina, December 31, 1913)

THE RELATION BETWEEN GENERAL WILKINSON AND GOVERNOR FOLCH

By Isaac J. Cox

[This paper as read has been published in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, July, 1914.]

SOME ASPECTS OF BRITISH POLICY IN WEST FLORIDA

By Clarence E. Carter

[This paper as read has been published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 3, December, 1914.]

THE SOUTH AND THE RIGHT OF SECESSION IN THE EARLY FIFTIES

By Arthur C. Cole

[This paper as read has been published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 3, December, 1914.]

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Grand Forks, North Dakota, May 26, 27, 28, 1914)

TEXAS TRAILS

By Mary Eleanor Peters

Texas, with its various characteristics derived from its peculiar position under the flags of six nations, has been a highway for pioneers, filibusters, and colonists of these nations, since, in 1528-1530, Cabeza de Vaca, a shipwrecked mariner of the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez, crossed its rich bottom-lands and its broad prairies from Galveston Island to the Rio Grande. This journey, bearing no significance to the unfortunate Spaniard, save that it eventually led him to the settlements of his own countrymen beyond the Great River, was, nevertheless, the *raison d'être* of the first genuine trail worn by Europeans over Texas soil.

Cabeza de Vaca, during his years of wandering and privation, had seen no white faces save those of a few of his companions in misfortune, since he and they were cast upon the island which they called Malhado (Unlucky), later named Galveston, in honor of Don José Galvez, Spanish Governor of Louisiana. With his crossing into Mexico, the white man became only a memory, then a legend, then a superstition, with the savages who had passed the strangers on from one tribe to another in the course of their migrations. The country that he crossed aroused no interest among the Spaniards of Mexico, for he had no tales of wealth to excite their cupidity, and there was still ample field for religious effort without seeking the half-starved and wholly savage creatures of which he told them. Not until 1685 was there another white man in the land of the Tejas. Then it was that La Salle, having made his fatal error in longitude, entered

Matagorda Bay, and established his tiny Fort St. Louis, raising over it the flag of France, and claiming all the land in the name of *Le Grand Monarque.*

The route taken by La Salle in his eastward journey across Texas is not traceable — even his grave is a matter of vague conjecture — but the location of his little Fort St. Louis is ascertainable from the Spanish records. The Spaniards in Mexico were ever on the alert to protect their claims to land which they considered doubly theirs by reason of royal edict and papal bull. The one gave them Mexico, Central America, and the southern portion of the United States by virtue of the discoveries of Columbus, the conquests of Cortez, and the explorations of Ponce de León, Narvaez, Cabeza de Vaca, de Soto and their contemporaries and successors. The other confirmed these claims by fixing a line of demarcation between the possessions of Spain and those of Portugal. On this twofold basis His Most Catholic Majesty proclaimed all ships found in Spanish waters forfeit to the Spanish crown; and, acting on this authority, a Spanish vessel seized *L'Aimable*, one of La Salle's ships which had been blown from its course and separated from its companions. From this circumstance the Viceroy in Mexico learned of La Salle's colony, and sent an expedition to exterminate it. Under Alonzo de León it set forth, to find, after fruitless inquiries of the Indians, only the charred ruins of the Fort.

This discovery, however, did not allay the suspicions or dull the vigilance of the Spaniards, and de León was sent a second time into Texas, with orders to lay out a line of military posts which would serve to hold the country against any future incursions of the French, who were pressing down the Mississippi and towards the eastern boundaries of Texas. In his search for La Salle's colony, de León had traversed much of the territory, thus marking out perhaps the earliest of the trails, known later as that of La Bahía, from its starting-point at the Mission

of La Bahía, which was built in 1722 as a post of observation to prevent smugglers from entering Cópano Bay. This post was eventually moved northward from its original site on Cópano to its present location, and its original name of *Nuestra Santissima Señora de Loreto de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo* was altered to that of Goliad, from Goliath, meaning gigantic.

This road of de León, starting at La Bahía on the San Antonio River, took a northeastward trend, crossing the Guadalupe and San Marcos rivers, then the Colorado at Columbus (Colorado County), thence running a short distance eastward to cross the Brazos at San Felipe, after which it turned sharply to the northeast, crossing the Trinity and ending at a camp of the Tejas Indians on the Neches River in East Texas. In accordance with de León's report of conditions, and in pursuance of his advice, the Viceroy, Marquis of Laguna, sent de León again in 1690 to establish the first of the missions, that of San Francisco, built on the site of La Salle's Fort. The next year Governor Terán followed up the work of de León with missions on the Guadalupe and Neches rivers, thus fortifying the crossings of the latter's road, which was now a fortified highway into the interior. It was over this road that the Republican Army of the North, inspired by the hope of separating Texas from Mexico and creating it an independent Republic, marched to its victory at La Bahía (Goliad) in 1812, under the leadership of Gutierrez, a Spanish exile, and Augustus Magee, a retired lieutenant of the American army.

At the same time that de León replaced the French Fort of St. Louis with the Spanish Mission of San Francisco, another mission-presidio was built three miles east of the Rio Grande, which, with the name of San Juan Bautista, became the southern terminus of the second great highway of Texas, the famed Old San Antonio Road, which was a part of the Spanish road across the Continent, starting at San Augustine, Florida, and known

as the King's Highway. By this name the thoroughfare is known until it reaches Nacogdoches in East Texas, when it changes to the Old San Antonio Road, keeping this title until it reaches San Antonio, after which, coinciding with the road from the Presidio of San Juan Bautista to the mission-fort of San Antonio de Valero (later San Antonio de Béxar), it is known as the Presidio Road.

The section known as the Old San Antonio Road was mapped out and inaugurated in 1714 by Juchereau St. Denis, who came into Texas as agent of the monopolist Crozat to open trade between Louisiana and Mexico by way of Texas. The Spaniards, taking alarm at this insidious intrusion of their French rivals, sought to check their advance and to keep out their traders by establishing more missions at strategic points along the trail. They were assisted in the work by St. Denis himself, who, by clever manipulation, with his right hand received his commissions from his French employers, while with his left he sought the perquisites offered him by the Spaniards in return for his assistance both in smuggling and in laying out the road and establishing the posts which were to hold it.

One of these missions, San Antonio, previously mentioned, was developed at the junction of the Presidio and San Antonio roads. Another, placed at the eastern terminus of the road among the Nacogdoches Indians, grew into the present town of Nacogdoches; while another was placed still further east, near the site of what is now San Augustine, Texas. The two towns which earliest figured in the colonial history of Texas were thus practically the oldest permanent settlements, though San Antonio grew more rapidly and has remained one of the largest of Texas cities, due no doubt to the fact that it became the headquarters of the Governor of Texas; while Nacogdoches remained a frontier settlement whose very existence was often almost annihilated by Indian attacks.

It is now, however, one of the important centers of East Texas.

This road was named as the northern boundary of American colonization when, in 1821, Stephen F. Austin brought in his first colony. Over it the early settlers from Arkansas traveled, excited to emigration by news of Austin's projected enterprise. It was the line of demarcation between the roving Indian tribes and the American settlements, and was the great commercial and military highway in every era of the history of Texas, as well as the official road of the government whether of Spain, Mexico, Texas, the United States, or the Confederacy. Over it the Forty-niners made their way westward, striking it at Nachitoches, Louisiana, and following it to San Antonio, there picking up a trail marked on the map of 1856 as the "Emigrants' Route", which led westward to New Mexico, via Santa Fé through Arizona to their El Dorado. To unite her California settlers with their Eastern friends, the United States chose and maintained this old road as her post-road, over which all mail was sent to San Diego. When Texas invited the railroads to enter her territory, the Southern Pacific laid its tracks upon this well-worn road; and thus it has been in constant use since Juchereau St. Denis, with his commission from Crozat, rode over it, spied out the land, and with keen eye selected the landmarks which should identify a permanent highway for his twofold enterprise. Spanish cavalry, French and American adventurers, Mexican armies, emigrant wagons, the pony-express, and the limited train have made their way gayly, courageously, laboriously, cautiously, indifferently over this stretch of road with which the Spanish King dreamed of holding his New World Empire. Its perpetuation has become the fixed purpose of the Texas Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who are marking with boulders the entire length of the King's Highway from Nacogdoches to

the old Presidio of San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande.

The stage of the trail from San Antonio to Presidio, known as the Old Presidio Road, was also laid out by St. Denis when he planned the Old San Antonio Road. It is still plainly visible as it passes through Zavala County, deeply sunken, almost a chasm, and unfit for use, but preserved intact — thanks to its impassable condition, which has rendered necessary the wearing of a new road beside it.

Other rōads than this went from the south to join the King's Highway at San Antonio. One of these, Herrera's, or the Laredo Road, was traversed as early as 1805 from the Rio Grande, parallel with the Presidio Road, one hundred miles southeast of this for a hundred miles, then curving north to San Antonio. The other connected Cópano on Aransas Bay with San Antonio, passing through the missions of Refugio and La Bahía (Goliad), and thence northwest. It is not difficult to learn the origin of these southern roads, for San Antonio de Béxar was very early chosen capital of the Province of Texas before it was joined with the State of Coahuila on the south bank of the Rio Grande, and the missions of South Texas and the settlements of New Mexico were thus kept in touch with the interior. Both the Presidio and the Laredo roads were used by General Somervel, when, in 1842, he led a small force into Mexico, an act of reprisal authorized by President Houston after General Woll's second invasion of the Republic of Texas. Somervel's expedition developed into the ill-fated Mier expedition, which Mexican treachery rendered tragically unsuccessful.

Contemporary with the Herrera (Laredo) Road is that known as Atascosito, beginning like that of La Bahía at Goliad, and running south of this road east and northeast to Liberty, thence north and northwest, terminating at the Indian Camp on the Comanche Trail which was the meeting-place for all of the trails running eastward.

This road was laid out in 1805 when Spain and the United States were disputing the western boundary of the Louisiana Territory, purchased by the United States in 1803. To hold the Territory and to press her claims as far east as the Arroyo Hondo in Louisiana, Spanish troops were stationed at all the important river-crossings — Guadalupe, Colorado, Brazos, and Trinity — and Nacogdoches was fortified. For many years the Old Stone Fort was loyally preserved and formed an interesting landmark, but it was later taken to pieces, and the stones, removed from the original site, were formed into a rude rectangular building bearing no resemblance to the original Fort, at a point where it did not conflict with the "progress" of the town. At the same time that the Nacogdoches Fort was built, the San Antonio Road was repaired, and similar guards were stationed on it. This Atascosito Road — so-called from the boggy nature of much of the ground through which it passed — now gained an importance hitherto given to the La Bahía Road.

The temptation for smuggling, due to the rivalry of Spain with France and the United States, led to much contraband trade conducted over trails known as Contraband Traces. The most important of these, called the Contraband Trail, commencing at San Antonio, proceeded eastward via Gonzales, crossing the Colorado and the Brazos, then continuing northeast within ten miles of the Middle Crossing of the Trinity in what is now Trinity County, where it met the La Bahía Road and proceeded eastward to Nachitoches, Louisiana.

The Comanches, one of the most aggressive, and quite the most numerous of the tribes of Indians in northern and western Texas, have given their name to two trails, one running north from the Rio Grande between the Pecos River and Presidio del Norte into the trail used as a route to Santa Fé. This road was used for their frequent forays into Mexico, from which they returned with rich spoil of cattle, horses, and Mexican scalps. The Old

Comanche Trail, longer and better known, began at Apache Village, north of San Antonio, near Fort Martin Scott, going eastward via Austin, the Forks of the Brazos and Upper Crossing of the Trinity, almost parallel to the San Antonio Road, and meeting it at the Indian Camp on the Neches. Thence it passed through Nacogdoches and merged with the Contraband Trail a little west of San Augustine, Texas. Paralleling, as it did, the San Antonio Road, the boundary of the settlements, one can readily understand the dangers of this frontier and the need of guarding it vigilantly.

The Santa Fé Route mentioned is not to be confused with the historic Santa Fé Trail through Missouri and Kansas, but has an importance all its own, emphasized by forts Martin Scott, Mason, and McKavett, which with the San Saba Mission protected that section of it known as the "Emigrants' Route". The road proceeded north, northwest, and west from San Antonio, past these forts across the Concho and Pecos rivers, following the course of the latter for a long distance northwest, then breaking away through the mountains westward to El Paso, and thence north to Santa Fé. This road was projected in Lamar's administration as President of the Republic of Texas as a military road of six hundred miles to divert the trade previously carried on through St. Louis, thus shortening the journey for Texas merchants by three or four hundred miles; and also to strengthen the claim of Texas to New Mexico, which she held to be her territory within the terms of the treaty of San Jacinto which concluded her war for independence. It was utilized in 1849 by the emigrants to California, and from this circumstance is perhaps better known as the California Trail.

The California Trail through Texas was a continuation of a road operated as a stage line from St. Louis to Sherman, Texas, via Fort Smith, Arkansas. From Sherman it trended in a southerly direction, crossing the Clear Fork of the Trinity in the northwestern corner of Dallas

County at a point now known as California Crossing, the site of which is now occupied by the Carrollton Dam. After leaving this point it eventually entered the Old San Antonio Road which it followed to San Antonio. In 1857 the stage line was completed from San Antonio to San Diego, a distance of 1476 miles, requiring thirty days for the through trip, although the mails were usually pushed through in from twenty-three to twenty-five days. The cost of the through trip was two hundred dollars. The first stage stand was at Leon Springs, and the early portion of the journey lay through a thriving and hospitable series of German settlements, a number of which — Comfort, Welcome, Fredericksburg, and Boerne, for example — are important little towns to-day.

Another road connecting Texas with the north was that known as the National Road, dating from 1846. This began at some point on Red River, not far from Bonham in Fannin County, and followed a southwesterly direction through Rockwall County after crossing the East Fork of the Trinity River. Following the same general course from Rockwall, it passed through the present city of Dallas. A small, triangular plot of grass, as yet unmarked though carefully preserved, indicates the site of this road on one of the main business streets of Dallas. This little spot, untouched by the traffic which surges about it, suggests a striking contrast between the hooded emigrant wagon and plodding ox-team of 1849 and the clanging trolley and klaxoned automobile which now dash by it constantly day and night. Passing westward and across the Trinity River at Dallas, it continued in that general direction until it joined either the California Trail or the San Antonio Road. I have been unable to trace it farther, for I have learned of it from old settlers who passed over it in their boyhood but who know it only as far as Dallas. It is doubtless one of the earliest of the Government roads established at the time of the annexation of Texas to connect the new State with

her sisters further north, though there is a possibility that it may have been projected during the last years of the Texas Republic.

The road from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Santa Fé crossed the Texas Panhandle, following the Canadian River, as did several others created for military and commercial reasons. Santa Fé connotes to Texans an incident so tragic that it can hardly be omitted from a paper of this nature, namely, the ill-fated Santa Fé expedition which set out in 1841 to visit Santa Fé and to persuade the people of New Mexico to adopt the laws of the Republic of Texas. The object of the expedition was to march northward until it struck the recognized Santa Fé Trail, which would be an open highway to their destination. The trail which they marked in their windings from Austin to the Trail was not a permanent one, but it is so clearly and vividly described in Kendall's narrative that its landmarks are easily recognizable in the later history of the State, in the Greer County question, for example.

The Mexican trade was carried on for the most part over the old Chihuahua Trail, beginning at the town of that name in Mexico, and entering Texas at Presidio del Norte, thence proceeding in a northeasterly direction across Texas, paralleling Red River via Clarksville to Fulton, Arkansas. This trail came into some prominence during Houston's second administration as President of Texas, when the Snively expedition was organized to intercept a caravan of Mexican merchants as they passed through Texas on their way from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fé. The expedition went for some distance on the Chihuahua Trail before it crossed the Red River and continued in a northerly direction until it struck the Santa Fé Trail.

It would hardly be possible, or fitting, to conclude such a paper as this without some mention of the cattle industry of Texas which originated a network of trails

all over the State. These, to use Emerson Hough's attractive simile, form the frayed ends of the rapidly disappearing strands of that Long Trail which "lies like a long rope thrown idly along the ground", and connects the cattle-trade of Mexico and Texas with the cattle States as far north as Montana. As early as 1857, Texas cattle were being driven north over such trails as the Goodnight, the McKenzie, and the Lone Star, but it was not until 1869 that all cattle were driven over one clearly-marked trail, to Abilene, Kansas, established as a receiving station by Joseph G. McCoy of Illinois, who recognized the necessity and economy of definite organization in this line.

From the Panhandle many of the cattlemen drove their herds into Kansas over the 'Dobe Walls Trail which led from the vicinity of Adobe Walls in Hutchinson County in the Panhandle northeast to Dodge City, Kansas. From the north and east of Texas, the way to Kansas from Red River was first broken by John Chisholm (later spelled Chisum), an eccentric frontier stockman, who was the first to drive on it. Using the Southern Texas Trail as a starting-point — from Fort Worth through Cooke County to Red River — he worked his way northward to the Arkansas River and across it into Kansas. This trail, used as an established route by all the drivers, was originally from two hundred to four hundred yards wide and six hundred miles in length. To-day it is recognizable as a wide, trough-like course, its ridges washed down by rains, and intercepted by farms and fences. It was no State road, but ran over many intervening ranches, which, in the mavericking days, kept guards to patrol the trail and to make sure that the herds on their northward journey had not increased suspiciously in numbers between the boundary fences.

This Chisholm, or Chisum, Trail is also one of the best known by reason of the "Song of the Chisholm Trail", said to be as long as the route between Texas and Kansas,

and of which we must have considerably over fifty different stanzas. This and other songs, or versions of the same song, were no doubt extemporized for a diversion on the long journey. Of this I quote three stanzas and the chorus, as furnished me by Mr. John A. Lomax, whose work on Cowboy Songs needs no introduction:

Come along, boys, and listen to my tale,
I'll tell you of my troubles on the old Chisholm Trail.

Coma ti yi youpy, youpy ya, youpy ya,
Coma ti yi youpy, youpy ya!

I started up the trail October twenty-third,
I started up the trail with the 2-U herd.

With my knees in the saddle and my seat in the sky,
I'll quit punching cows in the sweet by-and-by.

These are only the best known of a net-work of roads, all intimately connected with the history of Texas, whether through exploration, colonization, military aggression, or commercial enterprise. It is my earnest hope that all who hear or read this paper may find it of sufficient interest to inspire them to communicate to me any additional data which may come into their possession, and that I may some day be able to trace more fully and more accurately the footsteps of our Texas pioneers.

THE CHEYENNE INDIANS IN NORTH DAKOTA

By George F. Will

The early wanderings of the Cheyenne Indians are known in a general way to most students of Indian migrations, but very little specific information as to their earlier history is accessible. In this paper I shall attempt to give an account of the earth lodge period of their history in so far as possible, and more especially of their life in North Dakota.

In the preparation of this paper I have made use of the many authorities who give fragmentary bits of information as well as the more connected accounts given by Mooney and in the *Handbook* of the Bureau of Ethnology. In addition to these, however, I am very greatly indebted to Mr. George E. Hyde of Omaha, Nebraska, for notes on a large mass of stories and traditions, which he has collected from the very oldest living members of the Cheyenne Tribe. For the archaeological facts, I am indebted to Dr. Libby and the North Dakota Historical Society for the use of their plats and notes on the Sheyenne River site.

The first mention we have of the Cheyennes occurs in 1680, when the French first heard of them as living about the head of the Mississippi River. Their earliest traditions mention a great falls, perhaps the Falls of St. Anthony, and Clark in his *Sign Language* states that there is no evidence of them beyond the present site of St. Paul, and that they told him that they were created in Minnesota. Mooney says that, after wandering about the upper Mississippi River, the Cheyennes finally took up their abode along the middle course of the Minnesota

River between Blue Earth and Lac Qui Parle; while Riggs and Dorsey state that in 1693 the Cheyenne village was near Yellow Medicine River, where earthworks are still distinguishable. Thence they retired before the Dakotas and built a village between Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse.

Sioux tradition holds that they found the Cheyennes in Minnesota upon their arrival there. After the arrival of the Sioux, the Cheyennes were slowly forced westward by the pressure of that tribe and the Ojibways or Crees on the north.

Mr. Hyde has several traditions of this period. According to these stories, the Cheyennes at a very early day lived far north of the Missouri River near a big lake, and subsisted almost entirely on fish. The women made a fine white oil from pounded fish bones. They also made seines of willows, with which to catch fish. In the spring the people collected bird's eggs and young fledglings; in the fall they ate skunks which were exceptionally fat at that season and much larger than those of their present home. At that time their food in winter consisted largely of rabbit meat, and from the skins robes were made.

From this lake, tradition says that they moved southwest till they came to a great marsh full of tall grass. Here they stopped and sent out young men in boats to scout. These men carried bundles of poles which they stuck up in the mud at regular intervals to guide them in returning. On their return they reported a large lake on the further side with fine prairies along its shores. The tribe crossed the marsh, following the poles, and took up their abode on this lake for a while. Here they built houses of poles, covered with bundles of grass, and plastered with clay inside, with a smoke-hole in the center of the roof.

Thence they must have moved to the Minnesota River

directly, where the Sioux first met them. That tribe says that the Cheyennes had an earth lodge village on the Minnesota River above the Iowas. It was while living in this region that they discovered the pipestone quarry. As the story goes, a war party to the west one day saw a blood red buffalo. They shot him with arrows and found that his unusual color was due to a coating of red mud in which he had been wallowing. They followed his tracks, which led them to the quarry of red clay.

Franquelin's map of 1688 places the Cheyennes on the Minnesota River, and according to Riggs and Dorsey they built their more westerly village on that stream about 1693. In 1700 the Sioux told Le Sueur that the Iowas, who were a short distance below the Cheyennes, had just moved to the region of the Omahas on the Missouri River. Authorities agree that the Cheyennes left the Minnesota River at about the same time, owing to the ever increasing pressure from the east and north. During their stay on the Minnesota River they had practiced agriculture and had lived in typical earth lodge villages, according to both their own traditions and those of the Sioux.

This move of the Cheyennes in about 1700 brought them into what is now North Dakota. Here they settled and built a village on the southeast portion of the big southerly bend of the Sheyenne River, or the Sheyenne fork of the Red River as it was formerly called. Their traditions say that this village was on a high bluff with a water path leading down to the river. Riggs and Dorsey say that in 1893 the earthworks at this site were still evident. Franquelin's map, dated about 1700, places the Cheyennes on Sheyenne River, but at a point nearer the Red River. This, however, is probably an error in geography.

While located on the Sheyenne River the Cheyennes entered upon their life on the real plains, and here their

transition into a plains tribe began. Of this there is much evidence in their stories as gathered by Mr. Hyde. They, of course, as yet knew nothing of horses, and up to this time their acquaintance with the buffalo was very slight. Formerly the lakes and streams had supplied much of their food, and fuel was plentiful. Here in the prairie country wood was very scarce and the old stories tell how they frequently used bundles of twisted grass for fuel in their lodges.

The buffalo were about them everywhere, and even with bows and hunting afoot the Indians soon came to depend on them for a large part of their food. They went on great hunts in which almost the entire village joined — men, women, and children. In the winter, according to some of their stories, they used to drive the buffalo into the deep snow and kill them in great numbers. With the long hunts and the necessity of transporting the meat, there arose urgent need for a beast of burden. Consequently the dog assumed a much more important part in the economy of the people as a means of transporting the meat by travois to the village.

Agriculture, however, still held an important place in their life, and here on Sheyenne River they continued to raise beans, corn, and squashes. In fact the Sioux name for Sheyenne River was "the place where the Cheyennes plant". They also made clay pottery which they used almost entirely for their household needs.

During their residence in this village it is said that at one time, when the whole village had gone on a long hunt, some white men came and stole their corn. According to the story of another episode during this period a great war party set out from the village one day. After they had been out for a short time the sun was blotted out in full day and the party became so terrified that they fled precipitately back to the village.

During their stay on Sheyenne River the people were

still harrassed by their neighbors on the east and north, the Sioux and Ojibways, and in addition by the Assiniboine. All of these people had by this time acquired guns from the traders and thus had a very great advantage over the Cheyennes who had thus far kept ahead of the white traders and hence possessed no fire-arms at all. Thus the Cheyennes were in constant terror of their various enemies and after a sojourn here of about thirty years, according to their tradition, the situation became untenable and they felt compelled to move westward once more.

Alexander Henry in his description of the Cheyennes says that in the village on Sheyenne River they held a neutral position between the inveterate enemies, the Sioux and the Crees or Ojibways. Both tribes were constantly suspecting the Cheyennes of favoring the other, and they were thus constantly embroiled. According to Henry this village was finally destroyed by an unsuccessful war party of Ojibways returning from a raid on the Sioux in about 1740, and most of the Cheyennes were killed; the remnant then fled to the Missouri River and sought the protection of the Arikaras and Mandans. One of the best stories obtained by Mr. Hyde relates to the final abandonment of the Sheyenne River village. While the Crees may have destroyed the village, it is the Assiniboines whom the Cheyennes credit with the causes for the final abandonment.

The story runs as follows: At one time, after the Cheyennes had lived in the Sheyenne River village for some thirty years, all of the people with the exception of one poor old woman went away on foot for a big buffalo hunt. This old woman and her dog were left alone in the village. A few nights after the departure of the people she sat in her lodge pounding up bones preparatory to boiling the grease out of them to mix with her corn. A torch on the end of a crooked stick, which was thrust

down the back of her neck, furnished light for her work. As she sat pounding away, her dog began to growl and presently ran barking out of the lodge. Almost immediately the lodge was filled with strange warriors. The old woman leaped to her feet and rushed out of the lodge with the strangers in close pursuit. There was a water path down the side of the steep bluff, mentioned in the traditional description of the village. Part way down this path the old woman ran, then stooped down, and cast the torch down the bluff. The warriors, following the light, rushed over the side of the bluff and fell to the bottom. Many were killed and the rest were seriously injured. The old woman set out at once to find her people. She soon discovered them and all returned. They put to death such of the warriors as were only injured and plundered the dead, from whom they obtained their first guns as well as many steel knives. These strange warriors were found to be Assiniboines.

After this event the Cheyennes held a council. All were fearful lest the friends of the dead should fall on them in great numbers and destroy them. It was therefore decided to abandon the village, and seek a home still further to the west.

You will recall that Riggs and Dorsey said that in 1893 the earthworks of the Sheyenne River village were still distinguishable. Some seven or eight years ago Mr. Libby of our State Historical Society learned that there was a village site of some sort six or seven miles southeast of Lisbon, North Dakota, on the Sheyenne River. Shortly afterwards he visited this site and found that it bore a close resemblance to the earth lodge village sites of the Missouri River peoples.

In 1908 Mr. Libby, together with Mr. A. B. Stout, then of the University of Wisconsin, mapped the site and made a close inspection of it. From their notes and

maps I have derived the information given herein relative to this site.

Before going into details concerning the site, however, let us consider the evidence for determining this to be the site of the Sheyenne River village. Our historical and traditional data tell us that the Cheyennes built a village on the southeast side of the great southerly bend on Sheyenne River. This village was located on a high bluff overlooking the river. The bluff was very steep at this place and a water trail ran down its side to the river. The people at that time lived in typical earth lodges. There is no record whatsoever of any other tribe of a like culture having had a permanent village in this locality. The site discovered by Mr. Libby is in Township 134 North, Range 54 West, in the northwest quarter of Section 28. This location is exactly on the southeast side of the big bend of Sheyenne River. It is on what is now a small cut off curve around which the river formerly ran. The site is on the top of a high bluff with a very steep descent to the river, and down this bluff can still be traced a water trail. The site is a typical earth lodge site. Taking into consideration all these details, it seems certain that this must be the old Cheyenne site.

Let us now consider the site more in detail from the maps of Mr. Libby and Mr. Stout, one of which represents a large plat of the site proper, and the other shows the surroundings on a reduced scale, and from the notes accompanying these maps. The section and township in which the site is located have already been given as well as the location on an old cut off curve of the river. The bluff is on the north side of the village, the course of the stream having been northeasterly at this point. The greatest diameter of the village lies also from southwest to northeast. The nearest point to the present Sheyenne River is about sixty rods to the west. There is a spring

about twenty rods to the west in some marshy ground. The section line and road are about forty rods to the north, and the west section line is at a distance of one hundred and ten rods. There is also a road on the west about thirty-five rods distant.

The site is on the highest portion of the bluff, from which the land slopes away in every direction. On the east the slope is toward a shallow ravine, on the west toward the spring already mentioned, and on the south a gradual and long slope to the general prairie level. The bluff on the north falls away at a slope of forty-five degrees, with a height of about forty feet.

The site, as has been said, lies in a general southwest to northeast direction. Its greatest length is about six hundred feet, and its greatest width back from the bluff about four hundred feet. A ditch runs in a segment of a circle from the bluff around the site and back to the bluff. About half of the site toward the river bed is in a pasture which has never been plowed, and is very distinct. The other half has been plowed several times, and the ditch and house rings are about all that is discernible. There are sixty-two house rings, one of which is of a very irregular shape. The unplowed portion also shows many caches. A path leads from the village on the west toward the marshy ground where there is now a spring, and others lead down the side of the bluff to a debris heap and to the old river bed.

The ditch is from sixteen to thirty feet across and at the opening to the west is two and three-fourths feet deep. In no place except the plowed ground is it less than one and three-fourths feet deep. The caches are from a few inches to a foot deep and from three to eight feet across. The house rings are from six inches to two feet deep in the unplowed area and from seventeen to forty-two feet in diameter, the average diameter being above thirty feet. There are no traces of refuse heaps

in the site proper, and no large refuse heaps anywhere. The refuse dump seems to have been almost entirely over the side of the bluff.

This description shows us a site which in a general way is typical of all the earth lodge Indian village sites, and very similar to those which occur so frequently along the Missouri River. The next Cheyenne earth lodge village, and the last they ever built, was located on the Missouri River.

We have heard the stories of the cause for leaving the Sheyenne River village, both the Crees and the Assiniboines being blamed directly for it. It is an interesting fact that many of the old people deny that the Sioux had a part in forcing them on to the west, and they also declare that they were never really at war with the Sioux. This, however, seems hardly probable, and it is to some extent directly contradicted by old winter counts. This denial is perhaps to be ascribed to the great friendship and the several alliances between the Dakotas and the Cheyennes during the past century.

It is safe to assume that the Cheyennes were a neutral tribe between the Dakotas and the Crees, each of whom looked upon them with suspicion; that they were legitimate prey for a war party from either tribe when it had failed in its attempt on the more important enemy; and that the Assiniboines, roving over the prairies in the same region, also looked upon the Cheyennes, weaker in numbers, as legitimate prey. Perhaps the greatest factor of all in causing the removal was the fact that all these stronger tribes were to some extent supplied with fire-arms, while the Cheyennes, cut off from the traders, still depended on the bow, knife, and war-club.

The removal took place some time after 1730, and according to Henry the year was 1740. This date seems most probable since in 1738 the Sieur de la Verendrye was told of only the Arikara or Panana and the Pawnee

or Pani as being directly below the Mandans on the Missouri River; in 1742, however, his sons, after leaving the Arikara village, passed a Cheyenne village before arriving at the Mandans.

According to some of their traditions, the Cheyennes wandered about the prairies of eastern North Dakota for a while after abandoning the Sheyenne River village. They made grass houses which were portable and frequently had nothing but bundles of grass for fuel. One old lady tells how they traveled, all on foot, while the wolf dogs were each packed on a travois with the various baggage. At dawn the dogs all howled in unison and woke the camp to a new day's march. According to her story they traveled directly to the Missouri in order to seek the protection of the Mandans and Arikara.

In any event they soon reached the bank of the Missouri and crossed that stream. They found a location midway between the Mandans and Arikara, and there they once more built a permanent earth lodge village, and again took up their village life.

The ruins of this village were still standing at the time when Lewis and Clark ascended the river, and were located, according to their accounts, on the bank of the Missouri a short distance below the mouth of Porcupine Creek. I am informed by the well-known missionary, Dr. Beede, that he saw this site some years ago and that his Sioux friends called it a Cheyenne site. Unfortunately since that time it has been almost entirely undermined and washed away by the Missouri.

In this village tradition says that they lived for a long time at peace with both their neighbors, the Arikara and the Mandans. Here once more they made canoes of hollowed-out logs, such as they had used long before in their Minnesota homes. Here too they made seines and took fish as they had formerly done.

Agriculture was continued, given a fresh impetus by

the example of their agricultural neighbors, and the village was surrounded with fields of corn, beans, and squashes. After a time, however, the Sioux in their westward progress again came up with the Cheyennes. As they tell it, at first there were only a few Sioux, poor people begging for meat and horses, which the Cheyennes had acquired after reaching the Missouri. Then they came in ever increasing numbers and became threatening. At this time, according to one Cheyenne narrator, both the Arikara and the Cheyennes became frightened and fled to the Mandan villages, where the three tribes lived together for a time. They soon returned to their own villages, however; but the old, peaceful life was gone.

The Sioux continually plundered their fields and threatened the village. The people, tired of working the soil for the benefit of others, began to leave in small parties for the Black Hills country where game was exceedingly abundant. Finally the last remnants forsook the old village and the tribe was reunited near the Black Hills, no longer a sedentary agricultural people, but a nomadic host, flitting here and there, living in skin tepees, and subsisting on the fruits of the chase and such vegetable food as they might obtain in trading horses to their old neighbors, the Arikara and the Mandans. All of the traditions agree that the village on the Missouri was abandoned before the great smallpox epidemic of 1780 or 1781, which the Cheyennes almost entirely escaped.

In the great change accompanying this last move there was considerable confusion and readjustment before the final reassembling of the tribe. Some few families felt so strongly the ties of the old life that they refused to abandon it. We are told that some Cheyennes joined the Arikara and some the Mandans, into which tribes they were gradually fused. In corroboration of this Lewis and Clark mention a Cheyenne who spoke as a chief in the Mandan council, not as a member of his own tribe but as a Mandan.

This concludes the story of the Cheyennes in North Dakota, and the story of the agricultural, village-dwelling Cheyennes. While we are told that they still planted corn spasmodically for some time, yet the old life was gone and a new and absolutely different life had taken its place. With the abandonment of the Missouri River village the Cheyennes became in culture practically another race.

THE PRESERVATION OF LANDMARKS

By Jean McNaughton Stevens

"Remove not the ancient landmarks" has been a slogan for centuries for people who love their native soil, hallowed by hundreds of deeds worth remembering, by lives consecrated to uplift and intelligent thrift, by deeds of valor and acts of mercy and kindness. "Not a crumb shall be chipped from Plymouth Rock", says every Yankee who looks up with respect to the Pilgrim Fathers. "Not a leaf shall be plucked from the hedge that hides the wall round the compound at Mount Vernon", say the patriotic ladies who have built an enduring monument to themselves in their care for the home of George Washington, the Father of his Country.

Back in the good old Bible times, the people stood in serried ranks by the River Jordan, while the priests picked up stones from the bed of the river, and carried them up to the bench land where they built up a cairn to be a landmark forever in memory of the crossing. Similar heaps were raised on both sides of the Jordan in the north, in the south, and in the middle lands, to keep the Israelites in mind of their glorious heritage.

Egypt set up landmarks that could not be swept away by the annual overflow of their great treasure house, the Nile. The Pyramids and the Sphinx are still there, landmarks of their ancient history, reviving the study of what mankind has done. But two of their magnificent landmarks have been removed, not stolen. Oh no! but given away by a ruler who did not expect his gift to be accepted. One stands on the Thames Embankment in London; the other, Cleopatra's Needle, stands in Central

Park, New York, and both are monuments to the wonderful mechanical genius that moved them unbroken. It may be that the Fellaheen, the Egyptian peasants, do not miss them, but we doubt it.

That great nation that uses our common heritage, the English tongue, looks on at ancient landmarks dating back many years. Before the birth of Christ, ancient stone walls were built by the Romans to keep the wild Picts and Scots at a respectful distance, and these bear a strong resemblance to that great Chinese wall built for a similar purpose.

The Druidical Circles, such as that at Stonehenge, are simply huge stones set in a large circle, and yet they are objects of intense interest to the many who make pilgrimages to see them. How did men living in the conditions of those days set up such huge stones? To move one of them to-day would be an act of vandalism that would horrify the staid, conservative nation that consecrates its landmarks.

Every hill-top in Scotland is crowned with a cairn, a huge heap of small granite boulders built up in a tower-like pile. In my youth everybody who climbed Criffel was expected to carry up a stone from the foot of the hill and add it to the cairn. These small granite rocks were rounded and waterworn, just like those so frequently seen in our State, where glacial action has carried them along and moraines have left them. Everybody in the valley had climbed Criffel at some time, and many climbed it each year. On special occasions of rejoicing, a beacon fire was lit on the cairn, which was a torch that signalled to similar beacon fires that encircled the land. Rudyard Kipling tells in his *Recessional* how "On dune and headland sinks the fire" and the afterglow remains in the hearts of the people, lest they forget.

Happy wives, in the homes of their husbands, do not forget the fireside clime of father and mother. So the

landmarks of my childhood loom up in loving memory, but my American citizenship, of which I am so proud, has long attained its majority, and is devoted to Dakota. But I have visited many other States, and I have noted with earnest appreciation the landmarks in a little corner of Michigan and the simple way in which the story of two hundred years is marked and remembered, so that he who walks may read. Down in Monroe, the birthplace of the gallant Custer, whose heroic figure on horseback has recently been added to their market place, the people have marked out the whole route of General Hull and the British with little granite boulders lying along the roadside and suitably inscribed with lettering cut in the stone. These stones are readily found on the banks of the Raisin River nearby. They have also used them to mark the birthplace of the first white child, the camp, the headquarters of commanders, and in addition they have raised a cairn in which by cemented stones they have inserted a bronze tablet which tells the story of the Battle of the Raisin River. This was largely the work of the ladies of the Civic League, and as I walked and looked I thought how well we might mark the historic sites of North Dakota in similar fashion. For years I have looked at the old Military Road running west from Fort Totten to forts Stevenson, Berthold, and Buford, and I have wished that little granite boulders could be set up along this road to tell the story of '62 while this double wagon trail is still in use and before the exigencies of farmers from southern Russia shall send the plow across the trail and wipe it out. If a beginning could be made along these lines, and if this great Historical Society seals the idea with its approval, the people will be awakened to another phase of the history of the Dakotas and will mark these ancient sites so that posterity will never forget.

EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS OF THE MINNESOTA AND RED RIVERS

By Warren Upham

This address may desirably be prefaced by references to the Sioux and Ojibway origins, respectively, of the name of the Minnesota River, which was adopted for the Territory and State, and of the name of the Red Lake, which in the Indian manner is applied to the river of its outlet, and to the axial stream of the broad Red River Valley, where this meeting is held.

Minnesota received its name from the longest river which lies wholly within that State, excepting only its sources above Big Stone Lake. During a hundred and sixty years, up to the time of the organization of Minnesota Territory, in 1849, the name St. Pierre, or St. Peter, had been generally applied to this river by French and English explorers and writers, probably in honor of Pierre Charles Le Sueur, its first white explorer. The aboriginal Sioux name "Minnesota" means sky-tinted water (*Minne*, water, and *sota*, somewhat clouded), as Neill assures us, on the authority of Rev. Gideon H. Pond. The river at its stages of flood becomes whitishly turbid. An illustration of the meaning of the word is told to me by Mrs. Moses N. Adams, widow of the venerable missionary of the Dakotas. She states that at various times the Dakota women explained it to her by dropping a little milk into water and calling the whitishly clouded water "Minne sota". This name was proposed by General Sibley and by Hon. Morgan L. Martin, of Wisconsin, in the years 1846 to 1848, as the name of the new Territory, thus following the example of Wisconsin in the adoption of

the title of a large stream within its borders. During the next few years after the selection of the Territorial name Minnesota, it displaced the name St. Peter as applied in common usage by the white people to the river, whose euphonious ancient Dakota title will continue to be borne by the river and the State probably long after the Dakota language shall cease to be spoken.

Red Lake is a translation of the aboriginal Ojibway name. Why these Indians so designated the Lake had been uncertain until it was ascertained fifteen years ago by the late Rev. Joseph A. Gilfillan, who during twenty-five years was a missionary to the Ojibways in northern Minnesota. It had been affirmed, with poetic license, by Beltrami, who traveled here in 1823 and published his conclusions in 1824 and 1828, that the aboriginal names of Red Lake and its outflowing river, the latter translated by him Bloody River, refer to the "blood of the slain" in the wars between the Ojibways and Dakotas. Gilfillan wrote in 1885 that the Ojibway name of this Lake perhaps alludes to "reddish fine gravel or sand along the shore in places, which in storms gets wrought into the water near the edges", or to the reddish color of the bed of streams flowing into the Lake, probably reddened by bog iron ore. He later wrote to me, however, in February, 1899, that these are erroneous conjectures on the part of some of the Ojibways, and that he had acquired more reliable information, as follows: "Red Lake is so called from the color of the lake [reflecting the redness of the sunset] on a calm summer evening, when unruffled by wind and in a glassy state, at which times it is of a distinct wine color. . . . It is not called Red Lake from any battle fought on its shores."

That such a name for the Lake is sometimes very strongly suggested, the present writer knows from having seen such a view of the smooth Lake and delicately clouded sunset sky on an evening of September, 1885.

During a canoe voyage around Red Lake, I had encamped for the night near the mouth of Little Sand Bar Creek, at the east end of the northern part of the Lake. Looking west along the glassy mirror of its broad surface to the horizon, where the water met the red and golden sky, I saw the brilliant sunset reflected in equal glory both upon the sky and the Lake, and I can never forget it.

The Red Lake and Red River appear with these names, in French, on the map by Verendrye (1737) and on Buache's map (1754); and the Lake is so named on the somewhat later maps of Jefferys and Carver. From information obtained during his travels in Minnesota in 1766 and 1767, Carver mapped Red Lake and the Red Lake River, giving them exactly their present names. Their earliest delineation, however, from personal examination, was by Thompson (in 1813-1814), who in April, 1798, reached Red Lake, coming by way of the Red Lake and Clearwater rivers, and thence going onward to Turtle and Cass lakes.

There is something of the appreciation of natural beauty by the Indians in the fact that they took from the hues of sunset the name of the largest lake in Minnesota, whence we now have, by derivation, the names of two large rivers, a county, and its county seat.

The earliest white discoverers and explorers of the Red River may have been a party from Sweden and Norway coming five hundred and fifty-two years ago by way of Greenland and Hudson Bay. This is told by the rune stone found in 1898 near Kensington, Minnesota, about forty miles southeast of Fergus Falls. Runic inscriptions on this stone, bearing date of the year 1362, have been most carefully investigated by the late Professor N. H. Winchell for the Museum Committee of the Minnesota Historical Society, with the conclusion that the inscriptions must be accepted as a true historic record.

The earliest of white men on the Minnesota River were probably Groseilliers and Radisson, who, in the spring of 1660, were on their journey to visit the Sioux of the buffalo prairies. In the proclamation by Perrot at his Fort St. Antoine, on the eastern shore of Lake Pepin, on May 8, 1689, the St. Croix and St. Peter rivers, the latter being the Minnesota of the Sioux, are mentioned as then well known by these names.

Le Sueur and his party of miners were the next white men of whom we have record in the Minnesota River Valley. He was with Perrot at the time of his proclamation, and signed it as a witness. He discovered mineral wealth, as he thought, in the blue and green earth which the Dakotas dug from the rock bluff of the Blue Earth River a few miles from its junction with the Minnesota River, near the site of Mankato. The Dakota people used this earth as a paint, but Le Sueur thought that it was an ore of copper. He sailed to France in 1696, submitted the supposed ore to L'Huillier, one of the King's assayers, and secured the royal commission to work the mines. But disasters and obstacles deterred him from this project until four years later, when, coming from a third visit in France, with thirty miners, to Biloxi, near the mouth of the Mississippi, he ascended this River in the year 1700, using a sailing and rowing vessel and two canoes. Coming forward along the Minnesota River, he reached the mouth of the Blue Earth on the last day of September or the first of October.

The ensuing winter he spent on the Blue Earth River, having built a camp or post named Fort L'Huillier, and in the spring he mined a large quantity of the supposed copper ore. Taking a selected portion of the ore, amounting to two tons, and leaving a garrison at the fort, Le Sueur again navigated nearly the whole length of the Mississippi, and arrived at the Gulf of Mexico in February, 1702. Thence, with Iberville, the founder and

first Governor of Louisiana and a cousin of Le Sueur's wife, he sailed for France in the latter part of April, carrying the ore or green earth, of which, however, nothing more is known.

Within the first few years after Le Sueur came to the upper Mississippi and to the area of Minnesota, which was probably in 1683, he had acquired acquaintance with the language of the Sioux, and had almost certainly traveled with them along the Minnesota River. From his first Christian name, Pierre, as Neill and Winsor think, with whom I fully coincide, came the French name St. Pierre, in English the St. Peter, by which this River was known to the white people through more than a century and a half, until its aboriginal Sioux name was adopted for the new Territory of Minnesota.

We possess little of Le Sueur's own writing, but good accounts of his life and work have come down in the narrations of others. He was a man to be relied upon for successful leadership in great and difficult enterprises, not inclined to boast, and a strict adherent to truthfulness. During the hundred years of French occupation of what is now Minnesota, Le Sueur surpassed any other man, excepting perhaps Perrot, in the extension of geographic knowledge of its area, in his acquaintance with the Dakota people and influence in their councils, and in the establishment of the fur trade and further commercial development of this region.

The first printed reference to the Red Lake and Red River appears in a quarto volume of 211 pages, published by Arthur Dobbs in London in 1744, entitled *An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay.* Pages 29 to 45 contain a narrative by a French and Ojibway half-breed named Joseph la France, who in the years 1740 to 1742 traveled and hunted with the Indians through the northern part of Minnesota and in Manitoba, starting from the north side of Lake Superior at Grand Portage

and finally coming at the end of June, 1742, to York Fort or Factory on Hudson Bay at the mouth of the Hayes River.

From the Indians, la France learned of Red Lake, but he erroneously supposed it to be west instead of south of Lake Winnipeg, the description being as follows: "On the West Side of this Lake the Indians told him a River enter'd it, which was navigable with Canoes; it descended from Lac Rouge, or the Red Lake, called so from the Colour of the Sand; they said there were two other Rivers run out of that Lake, one into the Mississippi, and the other Westward, into a marshy Country, full of Beavers." This is our earliest descriptive notice of the Red River Valley.

In 1731, Verendrye, commissioned and equipped by the Canadian government, with his sons and his nephew, Jemmeraye, began their explorations far west of Lake Superior, which they left by the route of Pigeon River and the series of lakes and streams, continuing westerly along the present northern boundary of Minnesota. Fort St. Pierre, a trading post, was built at the mouth of Rainy Lake; Fort St. Charles on the west side of the Lake of the Woods, near the forty-ninth parallel; and other forts or trading posts on Lake Winnipeg and the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers.

The chief sources of knowledge of the explorations of Verendrye and his four sons are the early French colonial documents, of which a large number relating to their numerous exploring expeditions have been collected and published by Pierre Margry in the sixth volume of his *Discoveries and Settlements of the French in the West and in the South Parts of North America, 1614-1754, Memoirs and Original Documents.* In this last volume of the series printed in French at Paris in 1886, pages 583 to 632 narrate the Verendrye explorations. The most interesting and longest document of this group is found on

pages 589 to 611, and contains the narration of the journey in 1742-1743, by two of Verendrye's sons, from the Saskatchewan River southwestward to the Missouri and thence southwestward to high mountains, which they described as "for the most part well wooded". Parkman and others have thought these to be the Rocky Mountains, but Doane Robinson recently has shown them to be more probably the Black Hills.

Verendrye and his sons voyaged in their canoes along the lower part of the Red River and ascended the Assiniboine, but the narrations of their expeditions tell little of the Red River south of the site of Winnipeg.

Captain Jonathan Carver, coming by way of the Great Lakes to the Northwest in the autumn of 1766, ascended the Minnesota River with his canoe to the neighborhood of the present city of New Ulm, or farther, and wintered in that region with Sioux tribes of the prairies. He continued with them until April, and somewhat fully learned their language. The great prairies of southwestern Minnesota, over which Carver hunted with these Indians, he writes, "according to their account, are unbounded, and probably terminate on the coast of the Pacific ocean."

The next explorer coming to this region was Alexander Henry, the elder, as he may be termed in distinction from his nephew. This earlier Henry, born in New Jersey in 1739, accompanied the Canadian expedition of Sir Jeffrey Amherst in 1760; and during the next sixteen years he was engaged in the western fur trade tributary to Montreal. He published in 1809 his *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, Between the Years 1760 and 1776.* Traversing the canoe route along the northern boundary of Minnesota, he came to Lake Winnipeg and the Red River, in 1775, and returned by the same route the next year.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the discoverer and explor-

er of the Mackenzie River in 1789, had four years earlier come to Grand Portage on the Minnesota shore of Lake Superior at the beginning of his partnership in the fur trade. In his history of this great commercial industry, published in 1801 in the same volume with his *Voyages*, Mackenzie narrates much concerning both the white men and the red men of northern Minnesota during the last third of the eighteenth century. Many names of streams, lakes, and portages, which he traversed there and far across the continent to the north and west, are first recorded in his pages and on the accompanying maps.

David Thompson, born in Westminster (now a part of London), England, in 1770, became a most efficient explorer and cartographer of northern Minnesota and of the vast country reaching thence north to the Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River and west to the Fraser River and the Pacific. He began this work for the Hudson's Bay Company at the age of nineteen years. In 1797 he transferred his service to the North-West Fur Company, and in March and April of the next year traveled from the Red River Valley to Red Lake and Turtle Lake, the latter situated on the most northern tributary of the Mississippi River, constructing maps of these lakes and streams.

In 1813 and 1814, Thompson drafted for the North-West Company a large map of the Northwest Territory of Canada, and of northern Minnesota, which still remains in manuscript. His plats and field notes, largely consisting of determinations of latitude and longitude throughout the vast area of his explorations, fill about forty record books in the Surveys Branch of the Crown Lands Department of Ontario at Toronto.

The journals of the younger Alexander Henry, edited by Dr. Elliott Coues and published in 1897 in three volumes, entitled *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, are our earliest authority for many

geographic names of northern Minnesota; and in their publication the editor has added useful annotations, identifications of localities, and comparisons with the names given by Thompson, Mackenzie, and the elder Henry. Through these journals we are made acquainted with methods of fur trading which reflect little honor on the white men, their barter with the red men being largely the exchange of intoxicating liquors (chiefly rum, much diluted) for valuable furs, usually at an unjustly high rate of pecuniary gain to the white trader.

This Henry spent the years 1799 to 1808 in the region of Lake Winnipeg and the Red River, mainly occupying trading posts near the mouths of Park and Pembina rivers, and several times traversing the canoe route of our northern boundary.

The first United States government expedition to the region of the upper Mississippi River was led in 1805-1806 by Lieutenant (afterwards General) Zebulon M. Pike, for the purpose of negotiating treaties with the Indians, to secure a conformity with the laws of the United States by the agents of the North-West Company and others engaged in the fur trade at the far north, and to extend geographic exploration.

On the 23rd day of September, 1805, on the island at the mouth of the Minnesota River, since called Pike Island, he made a formal purchase by treaty, from chiefs of the Dakotas or Sioux, of a large tract reaching from the Minnesota River to the Falls of St. Anthony, and another tract at the mouth of the St. Croix River. These lands thus passed to the ownership of the United States for military purposes. In 1819-1823, Fort Snelling was built on the bluff at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers, on land thus acquired by Pike's treaty.

An expedition to survey and describe the full extent of both the Minnesota and Red river valleys was led by Major Stephen H. Long in 1823, under orders from the

Department of War for the United States. The narrative of this expedition and its observations on the geographic features, geology, fauna, flora, and climate, and on the Indians, compiled by Professor William H. Keating and other scientific specialists of Long's party, was published at Philadelphia the following year in two volumes; and in 1825 a second edition, also in two volumes, appeared in London. These volumes were a great contribution to the natural history and ethnology of the Northwest, surpassing in value any other accounts of the numerous official expeditions sent into the area of Minnesota by our national government, with the exception of the geological survey by Owen twenty-five years later.

Among the many other explorers and cartographers who during the last eighty years have examined parts of the Minnesota and Red rivers, were George W. Featherstonhaugh, in the autumn of 1835; George Catlin, in 1835 and 1836; Joseph N. Nicollet, in 1836 and 1838; David Dale Owen, Geologist for the General Land Office of the United States, with Joseph G. Norwood, Benjamin F. Shumard, Charles Whittlesey, and others, as assistants, in the years 1847 to 1850; and, within the last forty years, General G. K. Warren, Major Charles J. Allen, and others of the United States Engineer Corps.

The personal interest of the present writer in these river valleys comes in large measure from work done for the geological surveys of Minnesota, the United States, and Canada, from 1879 to 1895, in tracing the shore lines and mapping the area of the Glacial Lake Agassiz. My final report of this work is Monograph XXV of the *United States Geological Survey*, a description of this ancient Lake, which was held in the basin of the Red River and of Lake Winnipeg while the continental ice-sheet of the Glacial period was melted away. During the northward retreat of the ice border, Lake Agassiz, named in 1879 for Louis Agassiz, grew from south to north, at-

taining an area of about 110,000 square miles or more, thus exceeding the combined areas of the Great Lakes tributary to the St. Lawrence River. The outlet of Lake Agassiz, named in 1883 the River Warren in honor of General G. K. Warren, flowed along the course of the Minnesota River to the Mississippi. The depth of the ancient Glacial Lake above the site of Grand Forks was about three hundred feet; and above lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg, at its earliest and highest level, was respectively about five hundred and six hundred feet.

THE SOLDIER, THE ADVANCE GUARD OF CIVILIZATION

By Henry Hale

Secretary of War Garrison recently wrote: "Whenever anything pertaining to the Army is mentioned most persons think of regiments, bullets, bloodshed, hatred, and war. I fear that we as a nation have not the proper attitude toward the Army."

Strange as it may seem, when I thought of the title of this paper, it was not as a military man that I thought of the soldier, but as an agriculturist. Army men have distinguished themselves in the exploration of the wilds of our continent, and have blazed the way for civilization to travel; in this regard I might mention the explorations of Captains Lewis and Clark, who on their expedition made the trip through three or four hundred miles of the Dakotas, and of Lieutenant Fremont, known as the "Pathfinder", for his exploration of the Rocky Mountain passes, and of Lieutenant Pike in the Southwest. The Lewis and Clark party consisted of twenty-nine persons, of whom fifteen were enlisted men of the army, Sergeant Pryor being the most distinguished. I am of the impression that the most important benefit of the Lewis and Clark expedition was the discovery that the Mandan Indians cultivated the soil in the neighborhood of what is now Mandan, North Dakota, that they made bread from corn which they had grown.

It was in Cuba that Surgeon Walter Reed and his associates offered their lives to test the question of the contagion of yellow fever, and proved by their own inoculation and by the loss of some of their lives that the mosqui-

to was the carrier of the germs of yellow fever and malaria. Four army surgeons and four enlisted men volunteered for this test, some submitting themselves to the bite of the infected mosquito, while others lived for twenty days in a hut with the clothing and bedding contaminated with the excreta of yellow fever patients. No greater act of heroism was ever shown than by these men. There was nothing of the glamour of circumstance of war or the excitement of the battlefield to sustain them, but for twenty days and nights they offered themselves as a sacrifice to obtain the knowledge that has been a benefit to the whole of the tropics. The result of their service is that Cuba was converted from a pest-hole into a paradise. They made Panama possible. At a memorial service to Surgeon Reed, General Wood said: "His discovery results in the saving of more lives annually than were lost in the Cuban war and saves the commercial interest of the world a greater loss annually than the entire cost of the Cuban war." And at Panama, the victories of Colonel Goethals and Gorgas have not been of the sword, but of sanitation and engineering.

In the Philippines the army established a government, maintained schools, taught the savages sanitation, and made Manila the finest city in the Orient, turning it from a death-trap to a health resort. In those islands the army introduced the two great civilizing elements, the English language and baseball; there they are warring against conditions not armies, and are showing themselves the advance guard of civilization.

It was the experience in our own Dakota that I had in mind and to the unrecognized work of the army in forwarding civilization that I desire to call attention.

It is an axiom of military science that "an army moves on its belly", that it can not travel without food and to give troops celerity of movement the ration on which it can exist has always been kept at the lowest pos-

sible weight. As a consequence the army ration has never been very luxurious, and for field service consisted during my time of hard tack, beef or pickled pork, coffee, rice, beans or peas, and sugar — a concentrated ration, sufficient to maintain the life and vigor in field service and not overload the stomach or the transport. Such a ration will keep the soldier in good condition and as a matter of necessity will satisfy him on active duty. I have known soldiers in North Dakota to keep up in good fighting trim on mule meat and Juneberries. But let them once get back to their fort or station and the great luxury they crave is white bread and onions and potatoes. After a while green peas and cabbage will come as a matter of course. But onions and potatoes will hold them for a while, and to get them on the Western frontier was a problem to be solved. Civilization, like an army, does not advance faster than its stomach is supplied, and it was the soldier that demonstrated whither it could go by reason of his own necessities.

The necessity of supplying the soldiers with meat demonstrated that herds of beef cattle could be raised and fattened where before the buffalo was in possession, and that the grasses of the plains were sufficiently nutritious to sustain the cattle during the summer and winter.

The contractors supplying grain for the horses of the cavalry and the mules of the quartermaster's department took a chance and broke ground and planted oats, calculating that they could raise the grain near the military posts cheaper than they could pay the hauling charges, and thus showed to the world that the so-called arid plains would produce the grain in abundance; while at every military post or fort, just as soon as field duty was over, the American soldier, like the Israelite warrior that the prophet Micah tells of in the day of Isaiah, "beat their swords into plough shares and their spears into pruning hooks" and went to raising potatoes and onions.

It is within my recollection of thirty-six years in Dakota that the territory between the Red River of the North and Puget Sound has been settled. Settlement has always been first along the trails of the mail routes to military posts; then as near to the forts as the military and Indian reservations would allow, not only because it was deemed safer, but because necessities could be supplied there. I have known of men coming a hundred miles to Fort Totten to be relieved of an aching tooth, and I remember well a new settler who said: "I never could have induced my wife to come here, except that she knew in case of need, we could get medical attendance at the Fort."

When I arrived in Dakota, from ten miles beyond the Red River west to the Missouri River there was no sign of cultivation or habitation except at Jamestown, the site of Fort Seward, and at Bismarck, the location of Fort Lincoln. I remember well that, in driving from Jamestown to Fort Totten, the first sign of cultivation was at the E. W. Brenner ranch on the Sheyenne River. The ranch was established to grow oats to fill the grain contracts at Fort Totten and winter the army beef herd. In early April driving over the eighty miles, to one who had just come from the South, where we had an abundance of spring vegetables and fruit, it was certainly a dreary sight. Nothing of life could be seen but the crocus or wind flower just breaking through the ground. Arriving at Fort Totten, I was astonished to find that there was an abundance of vegetables of every description, the produce of the company gardens of the previous year. Onions and potatoes were at a discount, as there was such a variety to choose from. I found that each company of soldiers had a separate garden of as much land as it desired to cultivate. The Hospital, of which I was the steward, also had about five acres. These gardens were cultivated by the soldiers. The seed was bought from

the company funds, which were derived from the sale of part of the usual ration. An immense root cellar had been provided to carry over the stock of roots.

The Hospital garden was under my supervision, and I wondered when we could commence to plant it, having Eastern ideas of the proper time to do such things, but freezing nights prevented any preparation of the ground until the first week in May, when it was plowed and planted. Were I to state what that garden produced between that time and October first, I am sure some of you would put me in the Ananias Club. But enough to give you an idea, I say that we raised onions, potatoes, beets, salsify, green peas — early and late — lettuce, rhubarb, cabbage, carrots, egg plant, string beans, green corn, celery, parsnips, pepper and all kinds of flavoring herbs. Tomatoes, with a little protection from frost, were ripened in abundance. There was cabbage in such abundance that only the best were saved or made into kraut and the balance fed to the cattle. When necessary the whole company would put in time cultivating and weeding the garden. At that time the Dakotas were reported to be an arid desert.

This kind of thing was being enacted wherever there was a frontier military post, and it was these experiments in agriculture by the soldiers that I had in mind when I thought of the soldier as the advance guard of civilization. It was the soldier who showed where civilization could go and be sustained.

For many years the business of the army was to keep the Indians within the bounds of their reservations, and many a hard fought battle was the result, but the Indian question was more nearly solved when the ponies captured from the Indians after the Custer fight were replaced by cattle. It was in September, 1877, when a herd of cattle consisting of five bulls and five hundred and fifty two-year-old heifers were received from the con-

tractors by Lieutenant Mansfield of the 11th United States Infantry and my brother, Philip H. Hale, of the Quartermaster's Department at Yankton, South Dakota, and were delivered at the Cheyenne Agency thirty-five miles north of Fort Pierre on the Missouri River. There they were distributed to the Indians. This marked the beginning of the raising of domestic cattle by the Indians, and taught them that civilized methods of living were better than the nomadic hunting which they had for ages pursued.

In Vera Cruz lessons in government and proper sanitation are being taught; and should it be necessary to fully occupy Mexico, the army will not leave it until it has clean cities, and a stable government, and quite likely a school in every township. The people at large will doubtless learn more of civilization in a year than they have in three centuries.

MONTANA AS A FIELD FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH

By Frank Harmon Garver

INTRODUCTION

The history of Montana is a part of the history of the great West. It is typical of the frontier — that region of freedom and democracy on the border line between civilization and the wilderness. Boundary lines are imaginary when we conceive the history of a Western Commonwealth in many of its aspects. Montana is not unlike its sister States in this regard. The story of its exploration is similar to that of its neighbors. The fur-traders and the trappers knew not the limits of one future Commonwealth from those of another. The Indians in their warfare against the advancement of the whites cared not for State jurisdiction but could be just as treacherous on one side of a State boundary line as on the other. The Missouri River has given to Montana history a character like that of the other States through which it flows. The Rockies make it, at the same time, a mountain State.

While in one aspect the history of Montana is inseparable from that of its section, in another sense it is that of a unit complete in itself. Boundary lines were defined and a Territory established. The Territory, and after it the State, was made a distinct political entity with its own government and its own problems. Political, economic, and social ties bind together the people of a State. Gradually a sentiment of unity springs up. Pride in the leaders and in the institutions of one's State is developed. Attempts to find a justification for such

a spirit of local patriotism demonstrates the fact that the State has a history of its own. State pride has been a strong factor in American life and, while it is proper to find the background of the history of a State in the larger history of the section in which it is located, it is still necessary to treat the career and progress of an American Commonwealth as of an independent unit complete in itself.

The history of Montana is interesting, thrilling, romantic. Many actors have played their parts upon its stage. The explorer, the fur-trader, the trapper, the missionary, the hunter, the scout, the Indian chief, the Indian fighter, the guide and interpreter, the prospector and miner, the road agent, the vigilante, the freighter, the express rider, and the riverman — captain and pilot — enacted the drama of the earlier days. Their deeds cast over the earlier period a glamour and give it a fascination which does not attach to the later age, and yet the cowboy, the sheep herder, the ranchman, the merchant, the lumberman, the editor, the minister, the teacher, the dry farmer, the forest ranger, the underground miner, the administrative official, the legislator, the judge, and all of their fellow-workers have the satisfaction of knowing that they are making more substantial progress than their predecessors made in the days of romance.

The history of Montana is as rich in events and deeds as it is in actors. The Lewis and Clark expedition traveled more miles within its boundaries than within those of any other State. It was the very center of the great American fur trade, more posts or forts being erected upon its soil than upon that of any other Commonwealth. Its Indian wars have been among the fiercest, its cattle ranges among the largest, its gold and copper mines among the richest in the nation. Truly, the history of the "Treasure State" is broad in its scope.

Notwithstanding the interest which attaches to the

history of Montana and the breadth of its scope, it is still true that conditions in the State have not been, hitherto, favorable to the writing of history, at least not as the scientific historian would write it. The reasons for this unfavorable situation are readily apparent. Montana is a new State, only twenty-five years old in 1914. Its population is small and scattered over a vast area. In 1910 one-fourth of the population was foreign born, while another fourth had foreign parents. Moreover, a large percentage of the population has been transient in its character. There are only six cities in the State which contain as many as 10,000 people each: only one which has a population of 40,000. The institutions of higher learning are scarcely twenty years old. Necessarily the number of trained men in the State is small. Aside from the library of the State Historical Society and a few private libraries there are practically no collections of historical material. There are few societies and agencies interested in the preservation or writing of State history. The State Historical Society itself is very inadequately supported in a financial way. Under such conditions it will not be considered strange that little has been done in the scientific writing of history.

THE LITERATURE OF MONTANA HISTORY

The literature of Montana history, which has been produced up to the present time, consists largely of works of biography, reminiscence, journals, and diaries. The impressions of visitors have been recorded in newspaper articles, in monthly magazines, and in books of travel. Many writers of short stories and a few novelists have received the inspiration for their work in Montana. A beginning has been made in the field of legal history and in the realm of science. A large number of reports have been made to the national government by the leaders of military expeditions, exploring and surveying parties,

and Indian and boundary commissions. These reports contain valuable source material for the future historian, but can hardly be classed as history proper.

Three general histories of the State have been published, the last and best one being in three volumes. These books are of large size and popular in character. They have been compiled rather than written, and were printed to sell. They are largely biographical in their make-up. In addition to these larger works, H. H. Bancroft has a history of two hundred pages covering the story of Montana down to its admission to the Union as a State in 1889. In character this work is like others by the same author. Judge H. C. Blake has written a brief sketch of the history of Montana covering one hundred pages, which is printed as a part of the coöperative work, entitled *The Province and the States*, published in seven volumes in 1904. It scarcely needs to be said that none of these general works is an adequate history of the State. A few separate events or episodes in the career of the Commonwealth have been written up by persons cognizant of the facts.

A large part of the best work that has been done in Montana history treats of that Commonwealth only in an incidental way. Such books as Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade*, his *History of Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River*, and Wheeler's *Trail of Lewis and Clark* deal largely with Montana history because that State played a large part in the events described, not because the authors started out to write histories of the "Treasure State".

THEMES FOR THE FUTURE HISTORIAN

For the scientific historian, Montana is almost a virgin field. While considerable has been done, as just indicated, in many lines, much more remains to be accomplished. It shall be the main purpose of the writer of this

paper to point out some of the opportunities open to the investigator who conceives of history-writing as a science.

As a background for the work of the historian, I shall mention two or three subjects which, if worked up, would be of great value. One of these is "The Geology of the State" which as a whole has never been covered in one treatise. While some excellent work has been done for certain sections by the representatives of the United States Geological Survey, yet the entire State has not not been covered by these men. Because of the very incompleteness of this work, a general treatise on the geology of Montana by a competent geologist would be of great value.

There is also a chance for a splendid monograph on the "Physical Geography of Montana", written in such a way as not only to describe scientifically the physical features of the State, but also to point out the many ways in which the mountains, mountain passes, plains, rivers, water falls, forests, and mineral deposits have modified and, in the future, must inevitably condition the course of the State's history.

Montana is prolific in "Prehistoric Remains". Although few, if any, Indian mounds are to be found, Indian remains are not scarce. Painted rocks, piles of stone, graves, and the like are numerous. Remains of prehistoric animals of gigantic size have gone to enrich the museums of Eastern universities. Truly there is much for the anthropologist, the ethnologist and the archaeologist to write about in the State.

Coming now to the Historic Age, one of the first subjects to invite attention is "The Early History of the Indians". While the natives of the "Treasure State" have been studied in connection with the other tribes of the West, a special treatment of the Indians of Montana from the standpoint of that State alone remains to be

made. Such a study would take into account the different stocks and tribes found within the borders of the Commonwealth, their location or claims to territory, their numbers, alliances, migrations, conflicts, and wars. Many a historical site in the State has gained its name or significance from its association with the Indians long before the coming of the whites.

Another interesting theme for investigation is "The Legends, Tales, and Folklore of the Montana Indians". In this field excellent work has been done by George B. Grinnell, Mrs. Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, Katherine B. Judson, and Father L. B. Palladino, but undoubtedly much more remains to be done.

An exceedingly interesting and profitable study may be made on the subject of "The Early Roads and Trails" of the State. From the trails of the wild animals and the war paths of the Indians to the various roads of the white man including the footpath of the hunter, the trail of the pack-horse, the wagon road of the stage coach and of the freighter, the railroad, and the automobile highway, all need to be listed, described, and mapped before it is too late. In this connection the early "emigrant" routes into the State, such as the Bozeman Trail, the Bridger Trail, the Mullan Road, the Fiske Route, and the Corinne Wagon Road should all be charted. The military roads laid out by the government are worthy of attention. Such a subject as "The Bozeman Trail" or "The Mullan Road" is sufficient for a monograph in itself.

The "Exploration of Montana" has never been adequately treated. True the expeditions of the Verendrye Brothers and of Lewis and Clark have had a host of chroniclers, but the numerous discoveries made by the great fur-traders, private trappers, scouts, hunters, missionaries, and prospectors, as well as by the military expeditions sent out by the United States government,

deserve more attention than they have yet received. Was it not a fur-trader who discovered Flathead Lake, and a private trapper who first saw the wonders of Yellowstone National Park? The governmental expeditions of Barlow, Raynolds, Mullan, and others are worthy of special treatment. Few realize the large number of individuals and agents that have contributed to the exploration of the State.

On the subject of "Early Missionary Activities", we have several excellent works but no comprehensive survey of the whole State. Among the best accounts which have been published are those of De Smet, Palladino, and Ronan. What is needed is a careful study of the early missionary activities of both Catholics and Protestants — an account of their missions, churches, schools, adventures, privations, struggles, and successes.

The intensely interesting subject of "The Fur Trade" has been treated in an admirable manner for the whole West by Chittenden, but it has never been handled in an adequate way for the State of Montana alone. Since this Commonwealth was perhaps the richest field ever invaded by the trader and trapper, the importance of the subject to the State is evident. A comprehensive survey of the fur trade in Montana would take account of the companies which operated within its borders, of the forts or trading posts established therein, of the great characters produced by the trade, of the services of traders and trappers in the field of exploration, of the effects of the trade upon the Indians, and of the fur-bearing animals found along its water-courses.

A study of great interest, but also of great difficulty, confronts the student who would treat thoroughly of "The History of Mining" in Montana. The story of the first discoveries of gold-bearing placers, so full of romance, thrill, and heroism, has often been told. The operation of the pan, the rocker, the sluice box, and the

dredge-boat are familiar; but the evolution of the various methods of extracting the precious metal from the quartz rock, after the exhaustion of the placers, is another tale. The silver mines of the State and the copper mines of the Butte District are as deserving of a historian as are the gold mines. Since the mines of a district are apt to dominate its whole life, the economic, social, legal, and political activities and institutions of such a people also require the attention of the historian. Such a treatment, indeed, has been given to the mining industry of the Inland Empire by Mr. W. J. Trimble.

On the subject of the "Early Methods of Water Transportation in Montana", there is Chittenden's *History of Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River*. In this work the author describes the various water craft such as the canoe, bullboat, pirogue, and mackinaw boat which preceded the steamboat. Steamboat navigation in Montana was limited to the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, chiefly to the former. In spite of Chittenden's excellent work, it remains for some student to treat the subject from the point of view of the State. In such a study attention would be given to the stations and depots within the Commonwealth, to the character of the freight, to the dangers and profits of the traffic, to the companies interested, and to events happening within the State.

Much has been written on the "Early Methods of Land Transportation" in the West by means of the travois, packhorse, wagon train, and stage coach, all of which preceded the railroad and the automobile. In limiting this subject to Montana it would be necessary to enumerate and describe the chief routes of trade and travel, to locate important stations, ferries, toll roads, and bridges. Freight rates and their resulting effects upon prices in early Montana should also be noted.

An interesting subject suggested by the last two topics is that of "Methods of Communication in Montana". In

this connection could be told the stories of the moccasin telegram, pony express, stage coach, heliograph, telegraph, and telephone, and any other means of communication known to the early settlers.

Before the present area of Montana was organized as a separate Territory, it belonged to several different political jurisdictions. That part east of the Rockies was originally a part of the Louisiana Purchase; that west of the mountains belonged to the Oregon Country. While this subject of "Political Jurisdictions over the Territory of Montana" has been treated in a general way, still it has not been exhausted.

A kindred theme which might be handled with profit in this connection is the "Establishment of the Boundary Lines of Montana". In this study attention would be given to the original definition of such lines, to boundary disputes, to later alterations, and to the various surveys of the boundary lines. The international boundary on the north adds interest to this subject.

A very important phase of State history is "The Permanent Settlement of the State". While much has been written on this subject, it has not been treated in a comprehensive and scientific manner. Attention should be given here to the early trading posts, mining centers, military camps, and agricultural communities. Distinction should be made between temporary settlements and those that became permanent; between floating populations and those that came to stay. Interesting phases of this subject would include accounts of the many settlements that failed, of paper towns like Big Horn City which did not materialize, and of bonanza camps, once very populous but now missing from the map. The chief emphasis, however, should be placed upon the settlements that became permanent, the causes of such permanence, the sources and character of the population, and the growth of the same.

"The Attitude of Montana toward the Civil War" is a theme which will richly repay the investigator. It is a subject which has never been adequately treated. The strong sympathy for the Confederacy among early settlers, threats of union with Canada, and the effects of the establishment of the Territorial government, in 1864, are phases of the subject which will lead to interesting revelations.

Like many another American Commonwealth, the institutional beginnings of Montana were extra-legal. The authority of Washington and Idaho territories was not felt in early Montana. The settlers, left to their own initiative, made their own mining and claim laws, and later their own range regulations. Miners' courts, road agent gangs, and vigilante committees sprang up. These institutions, and other similar ones, must be examined carefully by the student who would write of the "Extra-Legal Beginnings of Government in Montana".

On the other hand, to examine the "Legal Beginnings of Government in Montana", one must study the laws of the territories of Washington and Idaho, as far as they apply, and analyze the Organic Act of Montana Territory, passed in 1864. Attention should be given both to the Territorial government and to the provisions made for local government. There are good reasons why Montana has no township government, even to-day.

An important subject which has never been treated adequately is the "History of the Territory of Montana, 1864-1889". A comprehensive study of this period would include not only a review of the establishment of the Territory, an outline of its government, an account of the administration of each governor, and an analysis of the work of each legislature, but also a treatment of the growth of population and wealth, of the establishment of new industries, of transportation and communication, and of the social life of the community.

Much has been written by popular historians about the "Establishment of the State Government", and yet the subject has not been exhausted for the scientific historian. Chief emphasis should be placed upon the successive steps in the process, extending over several years, by which the Territory became a State. "The Three Constitutional Conventions" are phases of the larger theme which might be treated with profit by themselves. In connection with each convention one would notice the agitation for such a gathering, the steps in its call, its membership, organization, sessions, the constitution adopted, and the process of ratifying the same. Valuable comparisons could be made of the three conventions.

The exceedingly interesting story of the "Territorial and State Capitals of Montana" remains to be told. This study would include an account, not only of the actual capitals, but also of the several contests for the removal or changing of the same.

Although Montana has been established as a Commonwealth only twenty-five years, its fundamental law has been amended several times. An important subject for the historian may be found in the "Amendments to the State Constitution". Not only should the history of each amendment be given, but an account of proposed amendments would be found of nearly equal value.

A comprehensive and impartial "History of Political Parties in Montana" remains to be written. In the past the State was a stronghold of the Populists and Free Silver Republicans. To-day the Socialists are strong there. In the same general field are the subjects of "State Elections", "Congressional Elections", and "United States Senatorial Elections", themes which have never been adequately treated. The account of United States senatorial elections should be of special interest because of several contested elections.

Three departments of the State government which

furnish suggestive subjects for the historian are "The Governorship", "The State Legislature", and "The Supreme Court". In the treatment of each, attention should be given to the constitution of the office, qualifications of members, occupants, politics, acts, and decisions.

The legal-minded student will find a theme suited to his taste in the "History of the Codes of Montana Law". This subject would call for a legislative history of each code, mention of how and by whom compiled, and a description of the general character and an analysis of the contents of each.

An excellent monograph could be written on the subject of the "Public Lands of Montana". Such a study should enumerate and describe the various ways by which lands have been, or may be, acquired by settlers. In this connection the successive land districts and land offices should be enumerated. The numerous grants of land within the State made to railroads, schools, and Indians should be discussed. Conservation and reclamation projects are interesting phases of the subject.

An interesting and important theme for investigation may be found in the "Establishment of Counties in Montana". The first counties were created by the legislature: at present they are established by popular vote of the people concerned. In handling this subject a chronological treatment of the establishment of counties should be followed by a discussion of methods, laws, county names, size and population, manner of defining boundaries, and manner of marking boundaries. Former counties no longer in existence should not be overlooked.

The "History of Local Government in Montana" is a rich field for study. It had extra-legal beginnings. Its growth has developed certain peculiarities. The State has no organized townships. Counties have the Commissioner System of government, but why? A careful survey of the subject ought to produce valuable results.

Subjects relative to the early Indians of the State have already been mentioned in this paper. The place has now been reached where "The Later Indian History of Montana" becomes an appropriate theme. Under this title should be treated their wars, reservations, and progress in civilization. "Treaties made with the Indians of Montana" is an important phase of later Indian history well worth consideration by itself. "The Sioux Indian War of 1876-1877" is a theme worthy of a monograph.

A large number of "United States Military Expeditions into Montana" were made during the nineteenth century. Taken collectively, they offer a theme for investigation of great importance. Several of these expeditions are worthy of individual treatment. The sources may be found chiefly in reports made to the United States Government. To hold the territory of the future State against the Indians a large number of United States military posts were established in Montana. Some of these were old fur-trading posts remodelled; others were erected especially for protective purposes. The subject of "United States Military Posts in Montana" has never been considered adequately by the historian.

The recent rapid growth and development of Montana has brought to the fore many subjects which, although important, may, because of limitations of space, be merely enumerated here. The list includes: (a) "The Establishment of Schools"; (b) "The Church in Montana"; (c) "Growth and Elements of Population"; (d) "Social Life"; (e) "Economic and Industrial Conditions"; (f) "The Stock Raising Industry"; (g) "Development of Agriculture"; (h) "The Railroads of Montana"; (i) "Banks and Banking"; (j) "The Legal Profession"; and (k) "The Newspapers of Montana".

A theme drawn from the later history of the State is "Montana in the Spanish-American War". The part

played by Montana soldiers in the Filipino War should be covered in this connection. The whole event forms a patriotic episode in which the "Treasure State" takes great pride.

"Montana's Part in National History" is a subject growing more and more important. Although one of the newest States, Montana's part has been very creditable. The development of this theme will produce some surprises.

The writer can not close this paper without mention of one other subject of great promise, namely, "Place Names of Interest in Montana". A glance at the map of the Commonwealth reveals some of the most curious place names to be found anywhere in the United States. The origin and significance of these names can be explained now better than later because of the passing of the pioneers.

SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF CORRECTIONAL WORK

By R. W. Craig

Crime is essentially a legal term; the law creates the crime. It is my purpose in this paper to set out briefly some of the legal aspects of our treatment of the anti-social acts usually described as crimes, and our methods of dealing with those who commit them and are usually classed as criminals.

In all our dealing with this subject we must be careful to recognize that the problem that always presents itself or should present itself is that of the offender rather than the offence. Just here, to my mind, is where criticism of our present system finds its vulnerable point. Our criminal law and procedure takes almost exclusive cognizance of the offence and its punishment. Much as we revile the cure-all patent medicine panacea for ills that require individual medical or surgical treatment in physical diseases, we have adopted that very principle in our dealing with crime. We prescribe for the illness of the patient and neglect his individuality. Our results have been anything but encouraging, and it is high time that in crime, as in medicine, quackery shall give way to intelligence and science.

We have the crime and the criminal. How do we and how should we treat it and him? I propose to discuss this subject under three divisions, namely, punishment, reformation, and prevention.

PUNISHMENT

The object of punishment seems to be twofold: (1) to retaliate upon the offender and make him suffer by

way of expiation for his misdeed; (2) to exemplify to the community the evil consequences of wrong-doing, and so deter others from following in his footsteps. Few now defend the retributive principle, and one must, I think, seek under the head of deterrent for the modern real aim of punishment, which is now reduced to the following four modes: death, whipping, imprisonment, and fine.

The history of crime is a history of the gradual elimination of capital punishment, which is now the outstanding example of the application of the retributory principle so long discredited. Were our system one that lent itself more freely to the reformation of the criminal and the prevention of crime, there would be fewer cases of capital punishment to discuss.

Whipping is an optional punishment for a number of offences, and many are often heard to express the view that an extension of its use would not be undesirable in certain cases. The danger lies in the abuse of the process. Juvenile offenders occasionally are still whipped, nearly always in the presence of or by their parents or guardians.

The earliest object sought in imprisonment was to secure the person of the accused in order to ensure his appearance before his judges for trial and after conviction to produce him for his punishment. Long years elapsed before deprivation of liberty began to be used as a punitive instrument. Penal codes depended rather upon shorter methods, such as the scaffold, torture before and after sentence, exposure, mutilation, exile, and slavery.

The shocking picture drawn by John Howard of the condition of prisons at the end of the eighteenth century will last for all time. The first quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a remarkable focusing of public attention upon the urgent necessity of prison reform, and the constant tendency in our penal system is

toward milder discipline, more intelligent classification of prisoners, and further amelioration of their lot. Imprisonment, however, continues to be used as the chief penalty for all crime. It is so simple and so available that it is handed out almost automatically and indifferently to every law-breaker. Fortunately, however, the practice of the courts is changing faster than the law in late years, and there is a greater disposition on the part of judges to seek information regarding those who are brought before them, as well as a more marked reluctance to send offenders to prison, if there appears to be a probability that they will not repeat their offences. It has been said that the great aim of all penal processes should be the recognition of the general principle of dividing all offenders into two classes: (1) those who ought never to enter a prison, and (2) those who ought never to be allowed to leave one.

In England two new systems of applying imprisonment have been effected by the Prevention of Crimes Act, which was passed in 1908. The first is intended for the reformation of young offenders who are already verging on the category of habitual offenders, and the second is the legal acceptance of the principle of indefinite detention or the infliction of an indeterminate sentence on those who have forfeited the right to be at large. Under this Act those who have been convicted of crime and are persistently leading a criminal life, upon being sentenced for a fresh offence, may be further sentenced to detention, for a period not exceeding ten years, to take effect after the end of the previous sentence. Convicts undergoing such detention are confined in prisons set apart for the purpose. The obvious purpose of this treatment, which is visited only upon habitual offenders, is the protection of the community.

For minor offences the prevailing method of punishing offenders is to impose fines on them. This is not an

application of the principle of restitution or compensation, for the fines go not to the person injured but to the local treasury. It is a penalty imposed on the pocket, and it therefore falls unequally on the rich and the poor. The same fine for the same offence may be a joke to one man but a real privation to another. As an alternative in default of payment, the offender is kept in custody. If the man can not pay, then the community or the State keeps him in jail at public expense. If a man is convicted of common assault and is fined the usual penalty of twenty dollars and costs or two months in jail, what happens? If he is a poor man and pays the fine, his family no doubt suffers. If he can not pay and goes to jail, his family suffers more. The injured party gets no compensation; in fact he contributes to the up-keep of his assailant. The law sees that the offender is taken care of at the expense of the public, but the injured person and the families of both parties are left to their own devices. Did you ever stop to wonder by what calculation the astonishing conclusion is reached whereby $22.35 is the price of two months' freedom from imprisonment? And yet under our system that is the price which the poor man pays for his liberty; nor is he allowed to make a part payment in proportionate reduction of his incarceration. Surely it is time that some method were devised to relieve this unfair and unreasonable condition.

The limits of this paper do not permit of dwelling upon the anomalies of our punishments. In the case of theft, for instance, the law makes no allowance for the moral element in the offence, but considers only the value of the thing stolen. The law further prescribes varying penalties for the theft of different articles. The measure of the penalty attached to certain offences is entirely arbitrary; the offence of carnal knowledge of an idiot is imprisonment for four years, while that of rape may be death or life imprisonment, but the essence of both is

want of consent of the victim. Our dealing with offences against morality is characterized by the same irrational treatment, and the civil and criminal liability of minors is also strangely inconsistent.

Our whole system of punishment is in need of thorough revision and reform. It can be justified only in so far as it protects society by removing one who has injured it. How far it deters the great mass of our people from committing crimes is questionable. They are law-abiding because they have no inclination to break the law and no inducement to do so. Let the contrary be the case and the result may be different. Are you an innocent man or woman simply from fear of punishment? If not, then it might be wise and fair to assume that the rest of the community is no worse than yourself. I submit that the real deterrent is social opinion and not fear of arbitrary punishment. The offender receives the bitterest part of his punishment before he appears for sentence and after he has served it.

In view of what I have said, it must be apparent that too great importance can not be placed upon the necessity of appointing only essentially fit men to positions involving the administration of criminal law whether judicial or ministerial. It may be that in time to come we may separate the court that finds a man guilty from the court that determines what shall be done with him after his conviction. In the meantime, with all honor to the judges who now adorn our bench, I am strongly of the opinion that provision should be made for the appointment of judges whose duties shall be confined to the hearing of criminal cases, the investigation of the offender's history, and the supervision, with the assistance of suitable officers, of his after career.

REFORMATION

It is recognized that the most important time for reform is during youth. The preamble to the Juvenile

Delinquents Act in the *Statutes of Canada* for 1908 summarizes and justifies its provisions in the following words:

> Whereas it is inexpedient that youthful offenders should be classed or dealt with as ordinary criminals, the welfare of the community demanding that they should on the contrary be guarded against association with crime and criminals, and should be subjected to such wise care, treatment and control as will tend to check their evil tendencies and to strengthen their better instincts; therefore, etc., etc.

Improvement of environment is the principle that underlies the treatment of juvenile delinquency, if not indeed the treatment of all crime. It has been well said that

> The rights of parents are sacred and ought not to be lightly interfered with, but they may be forfeited by abuse. Paramount to the rights of parents is the right of every child to a fair chance of growing up to be an honest, respectable citizen. What chance has the daughter of a prostitute, if left with her mother, to be other than a prostitute? Or the son of a thief to be other than a thief? And why should this girl be condemned, through no fault of her own, to a life of prostitution, or that boy unwittingly to a career of crime? The state too has rights and ought not to stand idly by while children are trained either by evil example or by neglect to disobey her laws.

The Canadian Act may be said to be based on the following principles: (1) probation is the only effective method of dealing with youthful offenders; (2) children should be treated as children even when they break the laws, and not as adult criminals; and (3) adults should be held criminally responsible for contribution to delinquency in children. Other features of the Act are (1) private trials of children before a judge specially selected because of his fitness for the work, and the prohibition of publication of reports of these trials; (2) incarceration of children awaiting trial (when necessary) in detention homes exclusively for children, instead of

police stations or gaols; and (3) sentencing of children, when probation fails, to industrial schools or reform schools and not to gaols or penitentiaries.

Industrial schools or reformatories follow as a natural sequence for the correction of minors convicted of such serious offences or having acquired such habits that supervision has become an insufficient guarantee against their becoming habitual offenders. In England the Prevention of Crimes Act (1908) deals in part with the reformation of young offenders between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, who have been convicted of an indictable offence, and are apparently of criminal habits or tendencies, or associates of bad characters. Such offenders are sent to Borstal Institutions, from which they may be removed to a prison if reported as incorrigible or exercising a bad influence on the other inmates.

The principle of the indeterminate sentence has found much favor in the United States and is in partial operation in Canada. The name, strictly speaking, is a misnomer, for there is no sentence without a maximum. This treatment makes the duration of the punishment of the criminal dependent not upon his guilt but upon his potentiality for reformation. It stands for the individualization of punishment and entrusts its exercise to boards of parole. Closely allied to this is the probation system which dispenses with imprisonment altogether. The advantages of this system, apart from the reformation idea, are that it saves the offender from the stigma of imprisonment, his family from disgrace and loss of wages, and the public from the expense of his support.

In Canada this system is adopted by the provisions of the Ticket of Leave Act. The practice seems to be justifying itself by experience. A recent report received by me from the Department of Justice shows that during the year ending September 30, 1913, 986 prisoners were released under the provisions of this Act from the peni-

tentiaries, jails, reformatories, and industrial schools of Canada. During that period only forty-five licenses, or about 5%, were revoked, while thirty-five licenses, or about 4%, were forfeited.

The Canadian Criminal Code (Section 1081) grants a valuable power for the release of offenders on suspended sentence, as follows:

> In any case in which a person is convicted before any Court of any offence punishable with not more than two years' imprisonment, and no previous conviction is proved against him, if it appears to the Court before which he is so convicted, that regard being had to the age, character, and antecedents of the offender, to the trivial nature of the offence, and to any extenuating circumstances under which the offence was committed, it is expedient that the offender be released on probation of good conduct, the Court may, instead of sentencing him at once to any punishment, direct that he be released on his entering into a cognizance, with or without sureties, and during such period as the Court directs, to appear and receive judgment when called upon, and in the meantime to keep the peace and be of good behaviour.
>
> Where the offence is punishable with more than two years' imprisonment the Court shall have the same power as aforesaid with the concurrence of the counsel acting for the Crown in the prosecution of the offender.

Simply stated, the principle that underlies this provision is that so long as a man will behave outside a prison there is no need for placing him inside. It is at least an attempt to deal with an offender in such a way as to avoid making him worse and to give him a chance to behave better.

The reasons which are advanced for the separate Courts for Juvenile Offenders apply equally well to female delinquents, for whom special treatment should be provided. The position of the male convict is not as bad as that of the female, since the percentage of criminality among women is much lower and therefore the offender

is much more conspicuous. The position of the fallen woman is harder to retrieve, and the attitude of her own sex is less tolerant and generally hostile. There is nothing more difficult than the treatment of these women. Only at rare intervals is a family found willing to take in and to look after one of them. The result is that institutional rescue homes have come to be the principal agencies of reform as well as punishment, and are given recognition as homes of detention for convicted women.

PREVENTION

The aim of the modern school of penology is to prevent the formation of criminals rather than to punish them; failing prevention, to effect their cure; and failing a cure, to segregate incorrigibles in suitable institutions for the protection of society until such time as it may appear safe to allow them their liberty. It is obvious that prevention should be seriously undertaken first. As with the treatment of disease, the only sane, economical, and humane course is to remove as far as possible or at least ameliorate the conditions which produce crime rather than to spend all our effort in punishing or reforming the criminal. As in the case of disease also there is the greater chance of success the earlier the conditions are dealt with. For this reason the greatest attention should be and is being concentrated upon the conditions affecting children. The motto of the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society is very much to the point: "It is wiser and less expensive to save children than to punish criminals." In view of the division of our subject, it ought also to be stated that it is wiser and less expensive and incidentally more feasible to save children than to reform criminals. To assist in carrying out this idea in actual practice, we have in Manitoba an excellent Act for the care of children, known as "The Children's Act", affecting boys and girls under sixteen years of age. This Act covers the care of immigrant children

and gives power of apprehension of neglected or dependent children, as defined by the Act. If any child so apprehended is found by examination before a judge or magistrate to be dependent or neglected so as to be in a state of habitual vagrancy or mendicancy, or ill-treated so as to be in peril of life, health, or morality by continued personal injury, or by grave misconduct, or habitual intemperance of the parents, or guardians, such child may be delivered to any approved society to be kept until placed in a suitable foster home.

The Juvenile Delinquents Act has already been referred to. An important section of this Act (Section 29) makes provision for dealing with persons charged with promoting or contributing to the delinquency of juveniles. This section reads as follows:

> Any person who knowingly or wilfully encourages, aids, causes, abets or connives at the commission by a child of a delinquency or who knowingly or wilfully does any act producing, promoting or contributing to a child's being or becoming *a juvenile delinquent*, whether or not such person is the parent or guardian of the child, or who, being the parent or guardian of the child and being able to do so, wilfully neglects to do that which would directly tend to prevent a child's being or becoming a juvenile delinquent, shall be liable on summary conviction before a juvenile Court or a Justice, to a fine not exceeding Five Hundred Dollars or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year, or to both fine and imprisonment.
>
> The Court or Justice may impose conditions upon any person found guilty under this section, and suspend sentence subject to such conditions; and on proof at any time that such conditions have been violated may pass sentence on such persons.

The question of child-saving is too large a subject to be more than mentioned here, as it is so dependent upon the social conditions of the community. There is undoubted need everywhere, however, for the enactment and enforcement of stringent legislation regarding child labor and education.

At the risk of an infringement upon the liberty of the press, there should be curtailed, except where such is for any reason desirable in the interests of the community, the publicity now given to crimes and criminals in our newspapers. Aside from the consideration of fairness to an accused before being found guilty, the desire for notoriety, the instinct for imitation, and the mental suggestion towards the commission of crime are all so constantly enhanced by the prominent displays in our daily papers that the prohibition of such publicity is surely worth favorable consideration.

There should also be rigorously repressed the publication or circulation of anything in the nature of vicious literature or pictures. I see no reason why books, plays, magazines, and picture post cards should not be subject to censorship as well as moving picture films, and I see no valid objection to the provisions of the Criminal Code being extended to make this possible, having in mind the application of the principle before enunciated, namely, prevention rather than punishment or cure.

Offences against morality can only be successfully combatted by unremitting vigilance and constant repression. Toleration in the form of passive or active segregation of the social evil is contrary to law. As a principle it is indefensible and as a policy it is unjustified by results. It is with satisfaction that one notices the increasing stringency both of law and practice in dealing with these most debasing forms of crime.

It is frequently stated with perhaps strong justification that the great majority of crimes are due to drink. It might be more accurate to say that most prisoners were under the influence of drink at the time of the commission of their offences. Intoxicating liquor is admittedly responsible for or at least the accompaniment of a large percentage of crime in every country, and it seems superfluous to say that to meet with any success

in the prevention of crime there must be restriction of the liquor traffic. The Grand Jury at the recent assizes held at Winnipeg reported in part as follows:

> In most of the cases which came before us at the present assizes the excessive use of intoxicating liquor was directly or indirectly the cause of crime. We therefore recommend that the existing liquor regulations be more strictly enforced and we feel that the time has arrived when the excessive and inordinate consumption of intoxicating liquor in public places should be prohibited.

Our treatment of the delinquent known as the common drunk is a disgrace. We take money from certain people for the privilege of making him what he is, and then we take money from him (if he has any left) because we have succeeded. If he has no money left or available, instead of letting him go home when sober we keep him at our expense for ten days. His wife and children get on as best they can. He comes again, pays the usual fine or is again our guest. Detention recurs again and again and always at our expense, and the offender is always the poor man who should be earning wages. Fortunate is he, indeed, if his drinking proclivities have not ere long caused his detention for a more serious offence. Surely there can be something better than this. For a single offence, why not release the offender so that he may earn his fine, and if he does not pay it we are at least better off by the amount of his maintenance for ten days. For the habitual offender, why not an inebriate home for an attempt at cure, or a farm for open air, regular hours, separation from evil associations, and for physical, mental, and moral upbuilding?

Prison reform is, I believe, much needed to overcome the effect of imprisonment itself in the production of crime. Treatment other than imprisonment, previously suggested, tends to minimize this evil, and we

may yet get back to the ancient conception of the prison as a place of detention only. Legislation along the lines of indeterminate detention of habitual offenders is well worth attention. The recidivist would then find that he is no longer face to face with a system of penalty either in money or time, but that he must behave himself outside of prison or be permanently incarcerated in prison.

The greatest agencies in the prevention of crime are not of a negative but of a positive character. The social conditions of the people largely determine the relative amount of crime, and those agencies which make for the social uplift of the people have a corresponding tendency to reduce the number of our delinquent population. Good housing conditions, regular employment at decent living wages, facilities for education and recreation, child saving, segregation of the socially unfit, the spiritualizing influence of the church — all of these make for social conditions that tend to reduce delinquency to a minimum.

There is a social responsibility here that can not be avoided. "Love thy neighbor as thyself" has rung through all the years with an increasingly suggestive answer to the question, Who is my neighbor? In the realm of delinquency, the delinquent is my neighbor. What are we going to do with him? We must first find out why he has gone wrong and, having regard to his individuality and to the welfare of the State, we must make the best of him and help him to make the best of himself. We must not injure him.

> Whatever wrong is done
> To the humblest and the weakest 'neath the all beholding Sun,
> That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves most base
> Whose love of right is for themselves and not for all their race.

THE STATE AND THE IMMIGRANT

By J. S. Woodworth

Let me, as a Canadian, express my appreciation of the courtesy of your Association in inviting me to occupy a place on your program. Among my ancestors, I number United Empire Loyalists, who at the time of the War of Independence left the Eastern States to found settlements in Upper Canada. Little did Loyalists or Revolutionists dream that in the great Northwest their descendants would mingle in friendly conference.

Little do we dream of the progress that will take place in the next hundred years! Within that time may come the federation of the English-speaking peoples — perhaps of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. In view of the Conference at The Hague, may we not well look forward to the fulfilment of Tennyson's dream, "The Parliament of man, the federation of the world".

My subject deals with but one phase of the immigration problem. But in this great migration of peoples, can we not perceive a movement of world-wide significance? Surely on this continent there is being worked out a vast experiment in race culture. All the nations are mingling in our new democracy. The age-long barriers of race and language and religion are being broken down. New ideals are being carried back to the older lands. As someone has well put it, "The last century made the world one neighborhood; ours must make it one brotherhood."

My paper is written entirely from the Canadian viewpoint. This may differ somewhat from the "American", but possibly the points of contrast may be sug-

gestive. Social developments in Canada are perhaps in general parallel with those in the United States, yet with important differences. But these divergencies, instead of being regrettable, may be stimulating, and thus mutually advantageous.

Let me first present some Canadian immigration statistics:

Total Immigration to Canada from January 1, 1897, to March 1, 1914

Calendar year 1897	21,716
Calendar year 1898	31,900
Calendar year 1899	44,543
First six months of 1900	23,895
Fiscal year 1900-1901	49,149
Fiscal year 1901-1902	67,379
Fiscal year 1902-1903	128,364
Fiscal year 1903-1904	130,331
Fiscal year 1904-1905	146,266
Fiscal year 1905-1906	189,064
Fiscal period (9 months) 1906-1907	124,667
Fiscal year 1907-1908	262,469
Fiscal year 1908-1909	146,908
Fiscal year 1909-1910	208,794
Fiscal year 1910-1911	311,084
Fiscal year 1911-1912	354,237
Fiscal year 1912-1913	402,432
Fiscal year 1913-1914	384,867

Immigration to Canada during the Calendar year 1913

Via ocean ports	303,158
From U. S. A.	115,751
Total	418,909

According to Nationality:

African, South	51	Austrian, N. E. S.	3,230
Albanian	1	Bohemian	270
Argentinian	2	Bukowinian	1,619
Australian	107	Croatian	827
Austro-Hungarian		Dalmatian	187

Galicians	1,844	Italian	27,704
Hungarian, N. E. S.	799	Jamaican	195
Magyar	1,314	Japanese	886
Ruthenian	18,900	Maltese	483
Slovak	177	Mexican	9
Styrian	2	Montenegrin	7
Belgian	2,766	Negro	264
Bermudian	56	Newfoundland	515
Brazilian	5	New Zealand	27
Bulgarian	1,270	Persian	19
Chinese	6,298	Polish, N. E. S.	1,014
Cuban	10	Polish, Austrian	4,564
Dutch	1,710	Polish, German	55
French	2,668	Polish, Russian	5,862
German	5,696	Portuguese	57
Bavarian	4	Roumanian	1,530
Prussian	10	Russian, N. E. S.	28,754
English	113,004	Doukhobor	4
Irish	10,542	Finnish	3,508
Scotch	31,426	Scandinavian	
Welsh	2,012	Danish	868
U. S. A. citizens		Icelandic	306
via ocean ports	123	Norwegian	1,698
West Indian	463	Swedish	2,671
Greek	898	Servian	114
Hawaiian	2	Spanish	1,179
Hebrew, N. E. S.	891	Swiss	291
Hebrew, Austrian	779	Turkish, N. E. S.	169
Hebrew, German	22	Arabian	12
Hebrew, Polish	22	Armenian	137
Hebrew, Russian	9,860	Egyptian	2
Hindu	88	Syrian	299

According to Sex:

Adult Males	249,891
Adult Females	99,256
Children under 14 years of age	69,762

According to Destination:

Maratime Provinces	18,793

Quebec	84,740
Ontario	134,691
Manitoba	45,079
Saskatchewan	44,543
Alberta	47,056
British Columbia	43,969
Yukon	38

Attention should be called to several significant facts. The population of Canada, at the last census in 1911, was 7,204,838. The immigration for the fiscal year 1911-1912 was 354,237, or one-twentieth of the entire population. A comparison of Canadian immigration with that of the United States reveals some interesting features. In population, the United States had a lead of a century. In 1800 the population of the United States was 5,308,483; in 1901 the population of Canada was 5,371,315. During the first decade of the eighteenth century, the immigration to the United States was about 7,000 per year; during the first decade of the nineteenth century, the immigration to Canada was nearly 200,000 per year, or twenty-eight times as great as that of the United States during the same period of the previous century. As to nationality, in the early formative period of her history nearly all the immigrants to the United States were from Northern Europe, mostly British or Scandinavian. Up to 1869 less than one per cent came from Austria Hungary, Italy, or Russia. But Southeastern Europe had been tapped before the flow of immigration was directed to Canada. Since 1900, Canadian immigrants have been forty per cent British, thiry-five per cent from the United States, and twenty-five per cent Continental; and of the latter a large and increasing proportion are from Southeastern Europe.

As to sex, it should be noted that the majority of the immigrants are adult males, most of them in the prime of life. According to the table of destination, the Western

Provinces receive more than their share; and in many cases, while the declared destination is the East, the ultimate destination is the West. In the East, the immigrants locate largely in the cities; only in the prairie Provinces have they in any large numbers settled on the land.

So much for statistics. We are not here to discuss academically the relation of the State to the immigrant. We are not here to tell of our immigration laws and regulations, though I understand that in some respects at least we in Canada have been able to profit by your experience, and that, on the whole, our system of handling the immigrants in transit is fairly good. But we are here, I take it, as social workers to discuss practical needs.

It will probably be conceded that a fundamental right of the State, as of the individual, is that of self-preservation. This may be construed as the right to exclude "undesirables". These "undesirables" may be individuals or races; they may be undesirable physically, mentally, morally, or socially. The State has the right to regulate immigration in the highest interests of citizenship.

The science of eugenics is yet in its infancy, and its findings are still highly controversial, but it has surely uttered a warning that can not be lightly disregarded. It is criminal to seed down our fertile virgin soil with the weeds of other lands. We can not afford to import degenerate stock. Recent investigations at Ellis Island have shown that high grade imbeciles have easily passed the inspectors. Our doors have been too widely open. The scrutiny at our Canadian ports is less rigid than that at Ellis Island. As a result our hospitals show a disproportionately large number of newly arrived immigrants. In the Home for Incurables, in my own Province, the inmates are largely immigrants, or the children

of immigrants, born shortly after their arrival in Canada. Recently I had occasion to make a study of social conditions in the city of Regina, Saskatchewan. The indictable offences under the Criminal Code from August 1, 1912, to August 1, 1913, classified according to the birthplace of the offender, were:

Canada		28.74%
United States		
White	19.76	
Negro	8.98	28.74%
Great Britain		
England	12.57	
Ireland	4.19	
Scotland	4.19	
Wales	1.13	22.08%
Europe		20.44%

It can not be said that the United States makes an advantageous showing in this table.

It should be remembered that, in both the United States and Canada, we probably develop many more criminals than we import; but in any case, the records of our hospitals, our asylums and gaols show a weakness somewhere in our handling of the immigrant.

In passing, a reference should be made to the Orientals. The Chinese, the Japanese, and the Hindus are outstanding examples of races that have been considered "undesirable". This need imply no shadow of reflection on these races, or on the individual Chinese, Japanese, or Hindu. But surely from a practical standpoint racial differences are too great and racial prejudices too strong for us to safely introduce large numbers of aliens who are incapable of rapid assimilation.

Important, however, as it may be for the State to exclude "undesirables", it is of vastly greater importance for the State to protect its citizens, the older or the more newly arrived, from the direct or indirect effects of immigration.

Take for example the problem of unemployment. During the past winter, we have had in Canada tens of thousands, probably hundreds of thousands of unemployed. At the same time we have been bringing in hundreds of thousands of immigrants. Either Canadians have been replaced by immigrants, or immigrants have been compelled to go without work. In either case there has been hardship and loss and demoralization. So long as our labor market is unorganized, so long as our government politics are determined by the immediate interests of the few rather than by the permanent welfare of all, so long will immigration intensify the problem of unemployment and postpone its solution.

Or consider the related question of the maintenance of an American standard of living. (I can here use that word "American" correctly, though perhaps, indeed, it should be "North American".) More and more, non-English speaking immigrants are doing our rough work. They seem willing to work under conditions that "white men" will not tolerate. Thus our own workers are being crowded out. Now it is undoubtedly true that in many instances when native-born Canadians are thus crowded out, they are pushed up to more congenial and better-paid positions. But this is not always the case. Our increasing army of single unskilled transient workers is recruited largely from those who have been crowded out. From this army come our tramps, and more recently our I. W. W. leaders.

But whether or not the native-born Canadians are pushed up, and whether or not this is good for them, the community has to reckon with large numbers whose standard of living is low. Furthermore, this standard, so long as immigration is unrestricted, tends to approximate to that of the most backward countries of Europe.

In my own city, it costs from $1,000 to $1,200 a year to maintain a family according to a Canadian or Amer-

ican standard. The income of many unskilled laborers, owing to low wages and seasonal unemployment, is less than half that amount. This means the lowering of the standards in a variety of ways. Sometimes it means insufficient nourishment, and consequent illness or inefficiency. More frequently it involves overcrowding with its attendant evils. Often it means that the wife must go out to work in order to supplement the husband's wages, or that the children must be taken early from school, thus mortgaging another generation. The fact is that already in Canada unskilled labor is paid according to a single-man standard. If the laborer is reckless enough to marry, his wife must support herself and family. Any system by which labor is unable to perpetuate itself is surely economically unjustifiable and ethically indefensible.

The functions of the State must be extended. If the protection of property justifies "State interference", still more is due for the safeguarding of the welfare of men and women and little children. Our governments have bonussed industry, subsidized steamship lines and railway companies, and encouraged immigration. Is it too much to ask that the government care for the worker and the immigrant? Labor bureaus, vocational training, unemployment insurance, regulation of women's work, factory inspection, workmen's compensation, prohibition of child labor, minimum wage legislation, and such measures are in the line of progress.

Here we may seem to be going rather far afield, but the problem of the immigrant is inextricably bound up with and complicates all our social problems. Our industrial development would have involved serious difficulties if our own people alone had been concerned. Add the introduction of armies of European peasants, and the situation becomes acute. The congestion of population in our cities would be bad enough without the cumulative

effect of interpenetrating Ghettos, Little Polands, Little Italies, and China-towns. Our civic administration and political machinery required modernizing even before the advent of the "ward boss" and the political heeler; now reform is absolutely imperative. Our educational ideas and methods, which long ago sorely needed revision, become absurdly grotesque and impracticable, and the whole system breaks down under the task of training a heterogeneous population for efficient citizenship.

In this training for efficient citizenship, the State owes a special duty to the immigrant. In fact, the immigrant should be considered as a ward of the State, and as such should receive special care, so that as quickly as possible he may attain the full status of citizenship. Our educational system is based on the principle that it is in the interests of the State that our future citizens should be given a certain elementary training with opportunities for further advancement. Formerly our future citizens arrived by the gate of birth. Now most of them come via Halifax and St. John. Is it any less important that these latter should have a knowledge of the English language, and be fitted to take their place in the community?

In the case of our own children, home training, family traditions, neighborhood associations, and the patriotism of the free-born may have been sufficient to instill some knowledge of our national constitution and ideals, and to develop some sort of community conscience. It may have been. But the immigrants come as strangers to a strange land. Surely they should have some better training in citizenship than that which they now receive at the hands of the despicable tools of corrupt machine politicians.

On this continent democracy, the highest form of citizenship, has run mad. At one stroke you in the United States gave the negro slaves the full privileges of citizen-

ship, and wondered why they were not miraculously fitted to use them wisely. In the same way, we leave the organization of school districts to recently arrived Ruthenian villagers, who know nothing of our language or laws, and who themselves may never have been in school a day in their lives. Or we allow these same peasants to live for three years in their isolated settlements without schools or newspapers or intercourse with Canadians, and then ask them to decide important questions of domestic or foreign policy. When the immigrant is safely landed or conducted to his destination, it would seem that the responsibility of the State had just begun.

In Canada we have a Commission of Conservation whose work is to foster the care of our material resources. This is neither a political nor an administrative body, yet its influence has already been of great and far-reaching importance. Why not extend the work of this Commission to include our human resources as well as the resources of our forests and mines and fisheries?

Perhaps a special Commission could be appointed, charged expressly with the promotion of the welfare of the immigrant. The work of such a Commission would be analagous to the work of the Children's Bureau in the United States. It would not decide upon policies, nor interfere with the work of various departments, nor trespass upon Provincial rights. Its duty would be merely to investigate and report, but the educational value of the facts, effectively presented, can hardly be over-estimated. Some such action as this appears to be a necessary preliminary step in the working out of a rational and wise immigration policy.

SOCIOLOGY AND COMMUNITY WELFARE WORK

By J. L. Gillin

There are two possible attitudes in every science — the academic or theoretical on the one hand, and the practical on the other. These two attitudes give you your pure and applied science. One of these attitudes is represented in an extreme way by a certain famous physicist, who is reported to have once said that when a subject became practical he had no further interest in it. On the other hand, the practical attitude is represented in its most violent form by the man who decries all work in theory and research, and in a moderate form by the man whose predominant interest is applied science. He has little interest in the subject until it does become useful. In the field of inorganic matter these two attitudes produce the physicist and the engineer. These two types of mind, however, are very much more widely distributed. They are to be found in all the various realms which appeal to human interest. Both are necessary to progress: the one is essential to science, and the other to human welfare. Properly viewed they form a team which must not be separated from each other.

These two attitudes of mind obtain in the social world, where we have the social philosopher or social scientist on the one hand, and what Professor Henderson has called the "social technologist" on the other. The one deals with a careful analytical and philosophical study of human relations, the other with the application of the knowledge obtained by the philosopher and scientist to the betterment of human conditions.

From the point of view of the practical man, whether in the world of matter, of mind, or of social relations, the

usefulness of a thing is the test of its efficiency. If biological evolution has shown anything, it has revealed that the only reason for the survival of certain characteristics in the history of animal development is that they have proved advantageous, that is, useful to the animal possessing such characteristics. He who applies the test of usefulness, therefore, can not be charged with being unscientific. This test gets its warrant in the stern philosophy born of natural science. No matter how fine an idea may be, or how much it may excite the admiration of its author and his like-minded friends, the ultimate question that the world asks is: "Does it serve some useful human purpose?" Now welfare work is the practical test of efficiency in sociology. If sociology can devise methods to alleviate the ills of human society, if it can contribute suggestions for the improvement of social conditions, it will demonstrate its right to exist. Welfare work, I repeat, is the practical test of the efficiency of sociology.

This is especially true in a State university and only less true in privately endowed institutions. Certainly they who furnish the money have some right to ask the question as to whether that money is being spent in a way which will aid humanity.

On the other hand, welfare work can not be carried out efficiently without the guidance supplied by pure sociology. Just as knowledge of the elements of chemistry and the properties of physical bodies are necessary for the successful engineer, so the social technologist must understand the fundamental principles revealed in human relationships. Sociology supplies the vision; social technology realizes that vision in the improvement of social relations.

THE COMMUNITY IN AMERICAN SOCIAL LIFE

For the purposes of a theory of society, some other social unit than the community may be necessary. From the standpoint of social welfare, it is the belief of the

writer that the community is fundamental. The family, which might well be used as the unit for certain kinds of welfare work, is too highly specialized to serve as the unit in all kinds of welfare work. The family remains a consumption unit from the standpoint of economics though formerly it was also a production unit. It still remains the biological unit for the purposes of the propagation of the human race. It once was also the socialization unit, the center around which revolved practically all the socializing influences. That no longer remains true. The school, the playground, the settlement, and the church have taken some of these functions away from the family. From the political point of view, the municipality may be the unit, but we are discovering that human relationships do not end with municipal boundaries. In fact, we are coming to realize that municipal boundaries are imaginary lines which are strictly limited to certain political activities — that in response to economic interests, social interests, and welfare interests these boundaries are for the purpose of being ignored. People are constantly over-stepping them.

Now, the community or neighborhood may include the whole or parts of a municipality, and does include families, individuals, economic groups, and voluntary organizations of all kinds. In the larger centers, we find that a municipality is generally made up of a greater or lesser number of communities or neighborhoods, each with its own center around which gravitate the interests of the people of that neighborhood, the individuals of each being bound together by certain ties of common interests or similarities, sometimes of language, sometimes of religion, sometimes of like-mindedness, and sometimes by reason of certain geological or physical limitations. Whatever be the ties that bind people together in the community for welfare purposes, the community is the natural unit. Because this fact is ignored, policies

adopted by a municipality often fail. For example, a health regulation which does not take into consideration differences in nationality, language, type of mind, and ancestral customs, often fails when proper consideration of such conditions common to a certain group of people would secure hearty acquiescence and coöperation. For welfare work the community is the best unit because it is the natural one. Recognition of this unit obtains in school work and in settlement work. It is coming to obtain in welfare work of all kinds.

COMMUNITY WELFARE PROBLEMS

Without attempting to make the list exhaustive, the following are some of the important community problems relating to the general welfare: health, recreation, certain economic problems concerning production, consumption, and distribution, educational problems, and certain problems of socialization, such as poverty, crime, and inefficient citizenship.

Health is largely a community problem because it usually grows out of certain community conditions. It may be related to the community water supply, or the disposal of sewage or garbage, or to certain social customs with respect to the segregation of sick people. For example, in one community it may be the custom to dispose of garbage by throwing it into the back alley or even into the street. In another the custom may be to gather it together in fly-proof cans. In one community social tradition or ancestral superstition may promote disease by encouraging exposure of infants to children's diseases on the theory that they should have them early; in another, by tolerating disease-carrying insects and the lack of screens upon the windows.

On the other hand, health is not only affected by certain causes common to a neighborhood, but the conditions are most easily improved by working through a common neighborhood center or interest. The senti-

ments of neighborhood loyalty can be appealed to; neighborhood pride can be evoked; neighborhood imitation of a good example is easily stimulated.

Again, recreation is a community problem. Recreation once centered in the isolated home. With the growth of population and the congregation of people in smaller areas, and the consequent increase of opportunity for contact between the children and youth, recreation went to the streets, the schools, and the playground, to the community dance hall, or settlement, or church. The field houses of Chicago in the midst of their small parks, the social settlements scattered throughout our large cities, and the social centers in the schools are recognitions of the fact that recreation is a community problem. This is as true of the small village as it is of a neighborhood in the large city.

Various economic problems are neighborhood concerns. If a community is a village or small town, it usually has one predominant economic interest. If it is a manufacturing community, it usually centers about one kind of factory. Sometimes natural conditions and resources determine what this shall be. In other cases, however, it is the outgrowth of the activities of certain pioneers. For reasons similar to those already outlined, most problems of consumption of goods are common to a certain neighborhood. People of like tastes and standards of living congregate together. That people of the same craft lived on the same street in a medieval town, was not simply the result of laws commanding them to do so, as is sometimes asserted. They lived together because they had common interests; they were alike in more respects than others. People of the same social level, the same nationality and the same customs do so still. Their standard of living is largely the result of imitation of others, and therefore is fairly uniform in a given community. Hence, any efforts that may be desirable to

lower the cost of living or to improve the standard of living can best be carried forward by an appeal to community interests. The same is true with reference to many problems of commercial development. The community as a whole is involved in its prosperity. If any considerable progress is to be made, it must be through coöperative effort on the part of a large proportion of the people in that community, and it can be best accomplished by an appeal to neighborhood pride and loyalty.

Again, certain educational problems are peculiar to a community. For example, in a community composed of artisans, the kind of school course suitable for the pupils in that community's school will be different from that adapted to the needs of the young people from the families in a neighborhood peopled by the rich. The success of the school buildings as social centers depends much upon a similarity of community interests as shown by the work in the schools of New York City under the direction of Dr. Leipziger.

Once again, certain problems of socialization are also community problems. Poverty no longer can be dealt with as an individual matter. It is a community problem. The causes that produce it as well as the measures for its prevention and remedy center in the neighborhood in which it is to be found. A similar statement could be made with reference to crime. Criminal gangs grow out of community conditions. So also do gangs that have for their purpose measures of socialization, like the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls, boys' clubs, and similar movements. Consideration must be given to the likenesses that characterize boys and girls in the same community, if these measures are to be successful. Moreover, the same thing is true of welfare movements that have for their purpose the creation of efficient citizenship among adults. Whole communities in Ohio were corrupted politically by the growth of common sentiments

concerning the money-value of the franchise, while other communities nearby were dominated by an entirely different sentiment. The social center, so far as it has not met the expectations of its well-wishers, has failed to recognize the fundamental character of the neighborhood in which it was located.

Perhaps this is sufficient to show that at least a considerable number of welfare problems are primarily community problems. They are the outgrowth of common sentiments, modes of thought, traditions, and types of mind that grow up in a group of people bound together by common interests or drawn together by reason of a common physical situation.

SOME METHODS OF PROMOTING COMMUNITY WELFARE

The University of Wisconsin, through its Extension Division, has endeavored to meet these welfare needs in that State through the organization of a special department. I am not presuming to say that the methods carried out at Wisconsin are the only possible or even the best ones. I am simply reporting what has been done with the hope that our experience may be of value to others who are endeavoring to meet these same problems and with the further hope that other experiments may be made that may contribute to a better solution of these problems. To meet certain specialized welfare problems, four bureaus have been organized in the Welfare Department, namely, the Municipal Reference Bureau, the Social Center Bureau, the Health Instruction Bureau, and the Community Music Bureau. Each of these bureaus undertakes to devote itself to a particular class of welfare problems. The Municipal Reference Bureau takes up all such community problems as are municipal in their nature. For example, the question of the methods of paving and lighting streets, municipal sewage systems, water systems, municipal government, housing ordinances, curfew laws — in short, all such problems as can

be dealt with best by municipal officials. The Social Center Bureau deals with such educational problems as connect themselves most readily with the use of the schoolhouses for community social purposes. The Health Instruction Bureau deals especially with the problems of health which can be handled by the community. The Community Music Bureau has for its special purpose the development of the musical talent in a community, and relates itself particularly to the welfare of the community through its cultural and recreational possibilities. Such problems as are not extensive enough in their nature or are not developed enough to require a bureau are handled through the Department by the Secretary.

In addition to the personal contact involved in the work of the heads of the bureaus and the Secretary of the Department, the following methods have been evolved for the promotion of welfare projects: Classes are organized in a study of these welfare problems already mentioned. Sometimes these classes are in subjects for which credit is given in the University on the regular course of study; others are purely informational and inspirational in their character, and have for their aim community betterment. Such classes, for example, are those on poverty and its related problems, the nature and care of the adolescent, and labor problems. Through correspondence, information and advice is given the communities of the State on such specific problems as water supply, garbage and sewage disposal, consolidated schools, social centers, organization of musical activities, fly-extermination campaigns, and milk supply. When it appears desirable, conferences are arranged by the representatives of the Welfare Department and groups of interested persons in a community. Through these conferences in a number of cases mistakes have been corrected in municipal water-works plans whereby the community has been saved thousands of dollars. Advice on

methods of organizing the philanthropic agencies of communities has sometimes prevented organization upon a basis which has not been approved by the experience of other cities. Exhibits on welfare problems, such as infant welfare, health, and community development, have either been rented or built and displayed in various places throughout the State. In connection with these there has usually been held a short institute with addresses and demonstrations bearing upon certain aspects of the problems presented in the exhibit. What are known as community institutes have been organized and carried out in various localities in the State. Last year seven of these were held with great success. An effort is made to learn, by a social survey, what the two or three most pressing problems in a given community are, and so build the program of the institute so as to most fully meet these problems. A three day program of addresses, conferences, and demonstrations is held and an exhibit installed, presenting the facts which bear upon the particular problems under consideration. The dissemination of information on community problems is also secured through published bulletins and prepared copy for the newspapers of the State. This has been most thoroughly worked out with reference to the problem of health. In connection with the institutes, conferences are held with local officials and organizations, the purpose being to secure permanent results in the community following the enthusiasm aroused by the institute. Local boards of health, city councils, commissions of various kinds, and boards of education are examples of the organizations with which conferences are held in order to make permanent the work of the institute.

A number of methods are still to be worked out. One of the needs which has risen above the threshold of consciousness in the minds of those who have been dealing with this welfare work is further permanent organization

to secure in communities the carrying out of the propositions decided upon. We have found that in welfare work as in other matters what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and therefore there must be some definite organization to see that the particular job on hand is attended to. Just how this can be most effectively done has not yet been thoroughly worked out.

There is a mass of material available in books and reports of the State and national governments, of State departments and commissions, of private associations and organizations of various kinds, which is used by very few of the people. It seems a great pity that so much valuable material should be lying waste in libraries and voluminous reports when it might be made useful to the people of the country. Some of this material is made accessible in condensed and readable form for the ordinary citizen who has no time or inclination to wade through long books or extensive articles. Wisconsin has not yet carried out a program by which this can be done. It is doing something along this line in its Extension Bulletins, but there is so much more that might be done and our methods thus far devised are so clumsy that we can not feel that we have done more than face the problem and touch the fringe of the garment. Methods must be devised to make available to the people the material which is now at hand on some subjects. Care must be taken that "half-baked" and unproved findings of some enthusiast, who has not the scientific patience to try his work before publishing it, shall not be placed before the people in the guise of science. There is so much that is established which has not yet been dreamed of by the people, that we have no cause to spend our time in bewailing the fact that we do not know much about some things. Something of this is being done in the lantern slide collections which have been made by various universities and schools, and by collections of exhibit materials

which set forth facts in such a way that people with the minimum of effort can grasp them. The latter is well illustrated by the exhibit sent out last year by the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality. In a sky-room of their splendid building at Dayton, the National Cash Register Company has a man whose only business is to read and digest books and reports and work out the main ideas contained in those books and reports in a kind of diagram form, so that any one may see at a glance what the book contains in its relations. Something of that sort must come in all our social work before our educational institutions shall become really democratic. Too often our educational institutions are aristocracies of letters. Some of them are now republics of letters. Supported by the people who have no time for anything but the toil of the world, and the business of the world, they must become democracies of letters. Those who in the last analysis furnish the money for the social sciences have a right to demand that the culture, the science, and the guidance for life worked out in the colleges shall be brought to the common people. If the ideals which have been cherished by our greatest educators in this country are not merely an iridescent dream, the universities and colleges must make available to the people the practical results of their researches and their thinking.

This brief outline can only suggest in a very general way the effort that is being made in one State to bring to the communities of that State the best knowledge that is obtainable throughout the world on various community problems. So multitudinous are the problems that present themselves for solution, and so bewildering is the array of easy and ill-considered remedies proposed, that great care has been taken to undertake nothing that has not been thoroughly and carefully considered. For example, without a doubt, one of the greatest problems im-

mediately before various communities in this and every other State of the Mississippi Valley is the problem of the economic development of the smaller communities. With the rural localities constantly losing their population, with villages either decreasing in population or remaining at a stand-still from decade to decade, with the intense competition which the merchants in these villages and towns are feeling by reason of the activity of the mail order houses and the merchants of the larger places, there is certainly a problem as to how to enable these communities to best serve the people of their communities at the least cost to the consumers and at the same time to preserve economic institutions indigenous to the population of that community. The future welfare of the country depends upon the adoption of a policy wide-visioned in its outlook, and based upon fundamental principles of social welfare. The interests of antagonistic classes must be "synergized", to use Ward's term, so that the welfare of all classes may be promoted at the expense of none. Every one of these welfare problems must be considered with reference to its bearing upon the welfare of the people as a whole. Any narrower view would be self-destructive and foolish. Social history is being made in the Mississippi Valley. Welfare work is an attempt to guide the currents of life so that that history shall be one of continuous progress and social betterment; that the next generation shall be better off economically than the present; that its children and youth shall have a better chance to live a normal, healthy life; that its adults may find a place in the great social fabric that shall at once satisfy their yearning for better things and supply for them an adequate outlet for the expression of their abilities; and that civilization may be advanced by an improvement in the adjustment of social relations. The aim is a more socialized individual, better homes, healthier and happier people, increased opportun-

ities for honest work, leisure for culture and for service, and — the outcome of it all — an increase in the general well-being.

THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF THE USE OF SUPPLEMENTARY READING IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY, AS DISCLOSED BY AN INVESTIGATION OF HIGH SCHOOL CONDITIONS IN MINNESOTA

By O. M. Dickerson

The results of recent college entrance examinations, published in the November issue of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, disclose most painfully the fact that history teaching in our secondary schools is inefficient. So long as only thirty-eight per cent of all persons who undertake a reasonable examination can make a grade of 60, we can not pretend that the results are even creditable. It is our duty as teachers of history to discover the cause of this inefficiency and to help to secure better results. We can not accept thirty-eight per cent as the full measure of our ability to do good work.

One reason for the present situation is that history is a comparatively new subject of instruction. Our universities and colleges have not yet retired even the first generation of history teachers. The majority of history instructors of all grades in our higher institutions of learning are comparatively young men. History courses have not been in operation long enough to supply a large body of specially trained teachers. The expansion of the field offers another reason. History courses are being multiplied and divided at a very rapid rate and every new phase of the subject is clamoring for recognition. While this broadening of the field has been a good thing, it has confused young teachers fresh from our best schools. They honestly do not know what to select from

the great mass of material that confronts them. Even though the specific courses are fairly well defined as ancient, medieval and modern, English, and American, the content of these courses can be almost anything, since in his university course the young teacher has frequently concentrated his attention upon some phase of these larger fields and consequently tends to distort its relative importance.

Public school officials have been confused by the rapid development and broadening of the field, with its consequent multiplication of valuable works of reference. Those seeking to provide working libraries for history do not know what to buy, nor are history teachers able to tell them. What suits one teacher is of very little value to the next, because of different preparation and different interests. We may just as well admit frankly that as a group of teachers we are without common standards of what should be taught in the various courses, what constitutes a working library in any course, what a pupil should know as a result of taking a specific course, how much time should be spent in preparing a lesson, or how the courses should be conducted. Each teacher has been a law unto himself. Such being the case, we have no cause to complain because school officials can not understand why one teacher's work is not just as good as another's, nor can we object to the policy of farming the history out to any teacher who happens to have a vacant period on the program. So long as history teaching is without standards, it is essentially unskilled labor which any person may perform.

Our difficulty is not so much a question of inadequately prepared teachers as it is a question of standards. This is shown clearly in the results of the examinations in botany, the subject which has the distinction of being the worst taught of the sciences, and one that is almost

as poorly taught as history.[1] Any one familiar with botany teaching in our high schools knows that it varies with each teacher that comes — one insists upon a study of classification, another upon plant physiology, and another upon adaptation to environment; one studies the microscopic plants, another flowers, another trees, and so on. There is no common standard of what should be taught, nor of equipment, even among those especially trained as teachers of botany. The results tell the story as they do in history.

When invited to take part on this program to discuss supplementary reading in history, I answered that I did not know what was expected of me, but that so far as I had any idea of what was meant by "supplementary reading", I was opposed to it, since I could not see why reading should be any more supplemental to a course in history than laboratory work should be supplemental to a course in physics. The reading should be an integral part of the course, and not in any sense supplementary. The word "supplementary" suggests something optional, something dragged in. Let us discard the word and the practice, and incorporate in our courses the work that should be there, and have none of it supplementary. Let us call it library or laboratory work and so make it respectable.

Several surveys of the conditions of history teaching in secondary schools have been made recently, and a committee of the Minnesota Educational Association is now at work on such a survey. Only a part of the data is available, but that portion shows that Minnesota is at least an average State. Its schools are possibly even better than those of its neighbors, certainly no worse. Our schools have the advantage of a considerable amount

[1] Only 41.7 per cent of those taking the college entrance examinations made a grade of 60 per cent. — *History Teacher's Magazine*, Vol. IV, p. 257.

of State aid, they have a special high school inspector, and have a good working manual with definite outlines and library lists for each subject. Nearly all of the teachers have college or university training.

The courses given are ancient history — sometimes Greek and Roman as separate courses — medieval and modern history, and American history. English history is taught in a very few schools outside of the larger cities. Ancient history is by all odds the most popular course, with European history next, and American history a bad third.[2] Ancient and modern European history each get a full year and American history but half of that time. Recitation periods are uniformly five a week and from forty to fifty-five minutes in length. The actual time of preparation of a lesson averages about an hour; many have only a single recitation period. Consequently any work definitely planned for high schools must be capable of completion in some five or six hours of work a week. There is no more time to be had. Ten hours a week, counting recitation periods an hour, would be placed at the disposal of history teachers, and presumably, as in case of the sciences, could be divided as they see fit.

There are practically no working libraries for history outside of the larger cities, and even some of these are without equipment of a suitable character. Only seven schools out of fifty report duplicates enough to accommodate classes of any size. The others give only a general list of books of varying value. American history is best equipped and European history is least provided for.

Teachers generally agree that library work should be done, but find it impossible without proper facilities.

[2] The totals from eighty schools reporting are: ancient history, 3,474; European history, 1,775; English history, 671; American history, 1,036; and civics, 1,279.

Outside of such cities as Duluth, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and a very few others, almost no library work is being done to-day in the European history courses beyond the reading of another text of the same grade, or at best the material in a source book. American history is better off in some cases because a short period is studied intensively by the library method. Some teachers assign topics, and one teacher, with the largest per capita appropriation for library purposes in the State, says that she has her pupils read one historical novel a year as the only work outside of the text.

The one fact that stands out above all others is that there are no common standards of how library work should be done, how much can be done, nor of material needed for it. The amount of money available for additions to the libraries is encouraging. Several schools report from $500 to $1000 per year, while smaller schools report from fifty cents to a dollar per pupil. An encouraging number say that their boards will "spend whatever is necessary". Consequently history teachers can have excellent equipment by asking for it and showing that it is essential to good work.

Schools and teachers will need considerable help in selecting working libraries. The absence of agreement among teachers as to the books most valuable for a specific course is somewhat disconcerting. For instance, in European history twenty-six different books which should be read wholly or in part by every member of the class were mentioned in the replies, while only one book was named four times, and only five others were named by two persons. About half the teachers failed to select a single book as desirable for use by an entire class, evidently having no definite ideas on the subject.

A library should be made up of two portions: a small list of books in constant use and a general list, covering a wide range of subjects, from which information upon

any topic connected with the course in history may be found. The first part of the library contains the books that each member of the class must use, while the second contains many that are used only occasionally and then not by many members of the class. The library may well be compared to a science laboratory. There is always the special apparatus for every pupil, comprising test tubes, microscopes, reagents, work tables, etc.; and the more general apparatus, comprising high power microscopes, hoods, accurate scales, etc. The first list is limited in number, comparatively inexpensive, and present in sufficient quantity to supply each student with a working outfit. The second class of apparatus is more expensive and often is not duplicated, since a single piece answers every purpose for class work. This last class corresponds to the general library, while the first corresponds to the limited or working side of the library.

I know of but three methods of doing library work: first, by reading extracts to the class; second, by assigning topics for special reports; and third, by assigning material for the entire class to read. The first is usually ineffective, and gives the class no training in the use of books. The second is decidedly unsatisfactory as a general method of procedure because it breaks up class work. It is essentially the seminary method and is not adapted to young students, as only one student works at a time in the recitation. The third is the most satisfactory as a general method of procedure, because it permits genuine class work based upon the material used by all. To be effective, however, it requires duplicates in sufficient number that each member of the class may have access to the material. The time has come to demand and get equipment to do our work in the most efficient manner.

The efficiency of a library is measured by the number of persons it will accommodate at any one time on a given subject. One book can be used by only one person

at a time; and, as study periods are necessarily limited, not more than four persons can use a single book for a five page reference in a single day. Consequently, whenever a teacher has classes of fifteen or more and his library is made up of single copies, he soon finds it physically impossible to do library work. He finds one book for fifteen little more valuable than no book at all. It is just as wasteful to attempt to have a number of pupils use one book as it would be to try to have a group of carpenters use one hammer. A contractor who would supply only one hammer for a dozen workmen and then expect each workman to use that hammer would be a curiosity, nor would any builder tolerate such methods. Yet teachers of history attempt to do efficient work with a one-hammer equipment, and the great majority of our secondary schools are one-hammer schools. Furthermore, there is a tendency among librarians to discourage the purchase of enough copies of the most useful books to supply an entire class. Unless we can secure the necessary number of duplicates to meet our needs, real library work must be abandoned. How can we get them?

In the first place it is a self-evident fact that it is impossible to duplicate an entire library. Only that portion of it need be duplicated that is to be used by a number of people at a given time. This forces us to decide what books we shall use, and their selection forces us to determine in advance the main topics to be studied. It is also evident that the same set of topics should be very generally used for the main library work in a specific course, or we can not expect very much improvement in library conditions. So long as teachers differ so widely as they do at present, school boards will be slow to supply duplicates. They certainly will not duplicate a different set of books with every change in teachers. They have a right to know that the equipment they purchase is properly selected and that it will be used for some time. With

standardized work and standard equipment a teacher can much more easily convince school officials that her demands for proper equipment are legitimate and not mere personal vagaries.

I believe the solution of the library and the reading problem is in sight. It is identical in character with the laboratory problem in physics, which has been solved most efficiently. It was out of the question to do laboratory work on all topics, nor was it feasible to leave each teacher to his own devices. Science men gradually agreed that certain great divisions of physics should be covered by laboratory work, such as mechanics, heat, light, sound, and electricity; and that certain definite laws and principles of each main division should be illustrated by a fixed minimum of experiments. Having agreed upon such a delimitation of the field, it was a simple matter to decide upon apparatus for the demonstrations, and even to devise new and better apparatus. Standards were set up. School men knew what apparatus was needed in a physics laboratory, and to-day we find a great uniformity in the equipment of such laboratories all over the country. A laboratory course has a definite content everywhere, and the results of the work measured by the examination tests show efficiency.[3]

History is where physics was years ago. The first problem is to delimit the field. We have agreed upon the courses. Let us now, as did the physicists, agree among ourselves upon the minimum number of main topics in each course which deserve library work. Such topics will not be very numerous. It is impossible to do library work on all topics. We must select — and why not all use the same topics in a specific course? Having made such a selection, we can then lay out with preci-

[3] Of 744 persons taking the college entrance examinations in physics in 1913, 58.5 per cent made the passing grade of 60 per cent. — *History Teacher's Magazine*, Vol. IV, p. 257.

sion the most effective apparatus in the shape of books, maps, lantern slides, and other illustrative material to teach these main topics effectively. An historical library will acquire definite content. School men will know when the necessary material is present and when it is not. A shelf of books can not be mistaken for a library as it is now, and it will enable schools to adopt a progressive policy of securing equipment. Such a policy will also lead to a decided improvement in the books most needed for the special topics, just as the delimitation of the field in physics has led to the development of greatly improved apparatus for the various experiments. Whenever a special topic becomes the basis of library work throughout the schools of the United States, the best men in the country will attack the problem of supplying for that topic improved library material adapted to the grade of pupils who are doing the work.

Evidence warrants the conclusion that Minnesota teachers are ready for this suggestion. In the questionaire sent to the high schools of Minnesota, each teacher of a course in history was asked to indicate what main topics in the course are considered of sufficient importance to require library work from each member of the class. The replies from some fifty of the larger high schools indicate that many teachers do not know what should be done or what books ought to be purchased. Many frankly admit that such is the case and ask for help. Those who think they know what main topics require library work tend to agree upon the topics. Thus, while thirty-two different topics were reported in European history, only twelve topics received more than three votes, and some of these were mentioned by about half of those who had any choice. The topics were feudalism, the Crusades, papacy and empire, the rise of nations, biographies of great men, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the rise of the lower classes, the English

Parliament, the French Revolution, and the twentieth century. Ancient history reflects similar conditions. Some thirty-five separate topics were reported, but only ten received the votes of three or more instructors. These were the manners and customs of the Greeks, the Golden Age, art and architecture, Greek culture, Persian Wars, biography, the life and customs of the Romans, Roman government, the rise of Christianity, and German invasions. Only thirty-one separate topics were suggested in American history, of which the following eleven received the support of three or more: the development of the West, the Critical Period, the Revolution, the Constitution, political parties, slavery, the growth of sectional feeling, economic forces, financial history including banks and coinage, reconstruction, and the period since 1877.

These facts clearly indicate that it is feasible to secure general agreement among teachers of history as to general minimum requirements for library work, at least so far as the main topics are concerned, and that is the crucial point. If we can secure agreement there, the library question will almost solve itself, because we can easily secure general agreement as to the most effective books upon a given topic, and these are the ones which should be duplicated.

I trust that those who follow in this discussion will point out specific ways and means for securing some such standardization as I have suggested for each course in history. But it will be of little import if we content ourselves with talking about what should be done. It will take work to secure standards. This organization should at once appoint an aggressive committee and empower it to seek the aid of other teachers' organizations in determining standards for library work, and then actively try to secure the general acceptance of these standards by school men, teachers' organizations, State in-

spectors, and college entrance boards, so as to bring the greatest possible pressure of public opinion to bear in securing their general recognition.

THE USE OF SUPPLEMENTARY READING IN THE TEACHING OF ANCIENT HISTORY

By S. H. Dodson

Professor Seeley says that "It is impossible that the history of any State should possess any interest unless it show some sort of development"; and Bishop Stubbs tells us that "Nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present came to be what it is." The latter statement is, at least, a partial justification for the study of ancient history; while the former becomes the criterion for the selection of those States which are worthy of study, or at least of detailed study.

In looking over the field of those nations of southeastern Asia which are usually included under the title of Oriental peoples, one finds so much of real permanent interest and value, and especially so many of the beginnings in law, in ethics, in religion, in literature, in science, in philosophy, in art, and in education, that one finds it necessary to take thought as to what portion of this almost unlimited amount of material should be selected for study, and what should be omitted. And yet the nations which have contributed the beginnings in these various fields have, with the exception of the Hebrews, completed their work and yielded up the ghost. The record of much of what they thought, and felt, and expressed in deeds, is but now being unearthed, while a considerable part was taken over and incorporated into the life of the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, and by them has been transmitted to the peoples of western Europe and America. The field for ancient history is so extensive and the time allowed for it, even in the best

high schools, is so short, that the problem of selection from this mass of material confronts the teacher at the outset. What facts one may select is not determined by any mere whim of this or that teacher, but by the relative valuation of the material at hand. One is forced to include those events which seem essential to the story of the people under consideration. The non-essentials are thus eliminated. This process of measuring and giving value to historical events will vary according to the insight of the teacher.

The time-allotment alone would preclude the possibility of giving more than the merest outline of the political life of the Oriental nations. But, from the point of view of their contributions in other lines of endeavor, much more than an outline seems necessary. By this exclusion in the Oriental group, and a similar exclusion in the field of Greek and Roman civilization, we have left only those events which are needed to make the complete story of the periods covered.

When we come to examine the text-books on ancient history, and there are several excellent ones now to be had, we are met by at least two fundamental defects: first, unequal inclusion and exclusion of events treated; and second, arrangement of events without regard for the idea of development. Sometimes it is possible to rearrange the material. One must admit that the limits placed upon a text-book, either by its very nature, or by the publisher, or both, would preclude the possibility of making an ideal book. And because of this natural defect of omission, one finds himself driven to the expediency of filling in the gaps with readings beyond the text-book.

The amount of material used concerning any one nation is not so important as the method used in obtaining that material; that is, in thinking the mass of material into its organic units or movements in history. The

three fundamental ideas to be ever kept in view by the history teacher are, first, to give the pupil the scientific method of thinking history; second, to inspire him with the spirit of history; and third, to give him at least a skeleton outline of the field of history covered. This skeleton outline should not be a barren desert. On the contrary it should have upon its surface numerous rich oases of the intenser moments of a people's life-story — those moments when they approach the threshold of the infinite through their understanding and appreciation of the head and heart of the finite. Here again one has to resort to the more detailed outside accounts of the special points to realize the complete story.

The problem of outside or supplementary reading raises the question of the note-book in history. The note-book in history has the very greatest value to the history teacher as well as to the history student. In my own classes, when I taught ancient history, I required the note-book for the following uses: first, to make a record of the assignment of the lesson — including the events, the questions, and the references to volume and page; second, to make careful notes upon readings in text-book and reference work; third, to make note of such questions as arise during the course of the reading, and such answers as may occur to the student; fourth, to make note of such comments made upon the lesson, either by the teacher or some student, as seem valuable; fifth, to take notes upon the essential parts of reports on outside readings made by students from time to time; and sixth, to record the general conclusions of the class upon the subject under discussion. A note-book of this character not only helps the pupil to give a truer interpretation to his subject, by having his gleanings from the various sources critically adjudged, but it also makes possible an organization of the material into its organic movements. Moreover, the subject in this higher sense is driven home with

an added force through the larger viewpoint which it inspires. In addition the note-book becomes a visible evidence of the mental evolution of the student in that particular subject. This fact alone would justify the use of the note-book in the manner indicated above. But more will be said upon the note-book in connection with the conduct of the recitation.

In a general way, and from the viewpoint of the amount of material used in the teaching of history, there are three fairly well defined classes of teachers. First, there is the teacher who is satisfied with what the text-book offers. The lessons are assigned by pages, and the hearing of the lesson moves on by paragraphs and pages. Happily this species is rapidly becoming extinct. But there is another species within this text-book class of teachers or keepers, who make a pretense of cutting the text-material into a series of topics. These topics merely follow the order in which they are found in the book, with no consideration for relative value and sequence, and the recitation proceeds as in the case above. In both cases the mental function is mere verbal memory, or perilously close to it. The resultant influence is a deadening of the powers of observation, comparison, and conclusion; and finally, the sense of appreciation, of both the process and the resulting product, remains in its embryonic state.

Then there is the second class, who must needs bring so much material from text-book, from secondary authorities, from sources — legal, constitutional, and personal — and from photographs and other evidences too numerous to detail here, in order to throw light upon I know not what. Certainly not upon the child's mental picture of the subject under discussion, for that picture — if he ever was fortunate enough to begin the creation of such a picture — is now buried so deep beneath this overwhelming mass of material, disjointed and otherwise, that little

now remains beyond the pains and disgust incident to the efforts expended and the profits in hand. Such a person may be a well fitted research student, able and scholarly, and a much-needed person in his field. But that field is certainly not in the rôle of the history teacher, and especially of the high school history teacher.

The third class of history teachers includes those who are sufficiently scholarly to meet all the needs and demands of first class high school history work, and who have the material so well organized into its organic units, or thought-movements, and its transitional phases, as to leave the richly completed story in readiness to be resolved as a mental product into educational mental processes.

It would be most interesting and profitable to point out with critical estimate the principal sources and secondary authorities, which could be used as supplementary reading in ancient history, but the scope of so good a purpose, together with the time-limits of this paper, precludes the possibility of its realization at this time. As an alternative, I wish to give a type of a lesson plan on ancient history involving supplementary reading, and to indicate (1) the mode of assigning lessons to pupils of high school grade, and (2) the manner of conducting such recitations in order that the threefold purpose indicated above may in some part be realized.

For purposes of illustration, I have selected from my *Syllabus on Ancient History* the subject of "The Expansion or Colonization of Greece". While such a subject may be too large for a single lesson, it constitutes a lesson-unity, and is therefore susceptible of being considered as an organic whole, and as a mental product may be resolved into educational mental processes. Not until these steps in organizing the subject for teaching purposes have been developed is the teacher prepared to make his assignment of the lesson and to direct the course of the recitation.

The pupil is already familiar with the nature and original form of the government of the city-state. He also has some acquaintance with Greek religious views. The following is an outline of the subject with references to text-book and the necessary secondary authorities and sources, which would be found useful in the teaching of this lesson-unity:

I. The Expansion or Colonizing of Greece (about 750-500 B. C.)
  1. Purposes of teaching the subject.
    a. To show how the Greeks, in their restless period of transition from prehistoric times, and in adjusting themselves to the condition of life in their city-states, pressed on to larger opportunities through the founding of new city-states.
    b. To set forth the nature, the process, and the character of the colonies, and their relation to the mother-cities.
    c. To explain how this work not only extended the institutions and influence of Greece, but also brought the Greeks in conflict with the Oriental powers of Persia and Carthage.

II. Mental steps taken by the pupil to realize the above purposes.
  1. Causes or forces operating to create the movement.
    a. Political — oppressive rule in home cities.
    b. Economic.
      (1) Trade.
      (2) The land system (family-system) often deprived a member of his share.
    c. Social.
      (1) Growing population required more land space.
      (2) Popular discontent.
  2. Purposes of Greek settlers.
    a. Immediate — to free themselves from the unsatisfactory conditions at home.
    b. Remote — to make permanent homes, and to have larger opportunities.
    c. Compare with the purpose of the Phoenicians.
  3. The Greek method of colonizing.
    a. The preparations — idea of "home".
    b. The organization of a colony — idea of prominence.

c. Relation of colony to its mother-city.
d. Compare with the Phoenician method of colonizing and note difference.

4. Location of colonies and its significance.
5. Significance of the "colony-form" of expansion in Greek history.
6. Geography — location of new colonies, names of tribes forming them, and routes thereto.
7. General conclusions — giving in compact and logical unity the complete story followed by a statement by some pupil, and recorded by the class.

III. Means used to stimulate the pupil's thought.

1. Assignment of lesson.
2. Questions and directions for work.
3. Map work to bring out the geographical features.
   a. Individual outline maps of Greece.
   b. Location of new colonies, with routes thereto, and names of tribes connected with them.
4. References.
   a. Text-book — Webster's *Ancient History*, pp. 176-180.
   b. Secondary authorities.
      (1) Cunningham's *Western Civilization*, pp. 1, 86-91.
      (2) Bury's *History of Greece*: Causes, pp. 86-89; Colonies in East and West, pp. 89-106; Ships and Growth of Trade, pp. 106-110; Foreign Influence on Greece, pp. 110-117; and Influence on Home City, pp. 118-119.
   c. Sources.
      (1) Webster's *Readings in Ancient History*, pp. 53-62 (examples of tyrants).
      (2) Herodotus, Book IV, pp. 150-159 (Colony of Cyrene).
      (3) Thucydides, Book VI, pp. 2-5 (Colony of Sicily).

This work should then be divided into units and assigned to individual pupils for study. Each pupil should be given such simple suggestions as will start him aright in the work of analysis. He should then be required to draw some conclusions as a result of his study.

During the recitation hour the order of the reports of the individual pupils upon this personal work should

ordinarily follow the logical order of the assignment and the subject itself as outlined. The class-room should have the spirit of the open forum, where there is the freest criticism and discussion. The individual work of each student should be stated and freely discussed in a sympathetic way. The errors will thus be eliminated, and the truth be retained. When this course has covered the work of all pupils, the general conclusions should be stated by some one of the pupils. Thus each pupil will have an opportunity to record the results.

The work so developed must needs resort to outside or supplementary reading to make the story complete and also to afford the student an opportunity to exercise his mental powers. In so far as source material of the proper grade is available, I should use it in preference to secondary authorities, because the pupil is thereby forced to rely upon his own judgment. In this way he becomes a discoverer of truth, new to himself, and it becomes his own in a real sense. I do not know that there is such a term as reasonal memory, but I do know that the highest form of memory which grasps and holds firmly the thoughts and feelings of its experience comes through the reasoning process.

According to the plan suggested, the material contributed by the text-book, by maps and map work, by readings from secondary authorities and from sources, passes through the crucible of the class-room of free criticism and discussion, and comes out in the form of a richly completed, newly discovered story made by real, enthusiastic boys and girls.

SOME PHASES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST, 1783-1786

By James Alton James

A year ago it was my privilege to read a paper before the Mississsippi Valley Historical Association on the subject of *Some Significant Events During the Last Year of the Revolution in the West.* To-night it is my purpose to present a study of some of the phases of Western history during the three years after the declaration of peace. I desire, especially, to discuss the relation of George Rogers Clark to these events.

The discontinuance of general hostilities in the West rendered the regular military organization in that section unnecessary, and Clark was voted out of commission. When imparting the content of this resolution, Governor Harrison concluded his letter as follows: "But before I take leave of you, I feel myself called on in the most forcible manner, to return to you my thanks, and those of my council, for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on a successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks so justly your due, I am happy to communicate to you, as the united voice of the executive."[1] In retiring, Clark manifested no spirit of bitterness. He expressed an appreciation of these words of approbation, and tendered his services whenever the State might call him to its defense.

Early in the year 1784, Thomas Jefferson succeeded

[1] July 2, 1783.— Virginia State Archives.

in securing Clark's election by Congress, as one of the five Commissioners who were to treat with the Indians of the Northwest.[2] Beyond the service which Clark would render as a member of such a Commission, the leading motive of Jefferson in securing his appointment was to bring Clark "forward on the continental stage".[3] Full powers were granted the Commissioners to hold conventions with the Six Nations and all other Indians to the northward and westward of them and as far south as the Cherokee within the limits of the United States.[4] Besides receiving the Indians into the "favour and protection" of the United States, boundary lines were to be established between their hunting grounds and villages and the territory open to settlement by white men.

Had some such line of action been instituted a year earlier, much trouble and bloodshed might have been averted. The preceding September, Congress issued a proclamation against the unlawful occupation of Indian lands, but this was of little effect. In spite of the vigilance of the commanding officer at Pittsburgh, boats frequently passed down the Ohio bearing parties whose outspoken designs were to encroach upon the Indian country. Some were fired on and captured, but numbers escaped.[5] Washington wrote, on November 3, 1784, the following description of the situation: "Such is the rage for speculating in, and forestalling of lands on the No. West of the Ohio, that scarce a valuable spot, within any tolerable distance of it, is left without a claimant. Men in these times talk with as much facility of fifty, an hun-

[2] Jefferson to Clark, March 4, 1784.—Virginia State Archives.

[3] The other Commissioners elected were Oliver Wolcott, Nathanael Greene, Richard Butler, and Stephen Higginson. Nathanael Greene and Stephen Higginson declined to serve, and Benjamin Lincoln and Arthur Lee were appointed in their places. Philip Schuyler was appointed, but evidently he and Benjamin Lincoln also declined to serve.

[4] Resolution of Congress, June 3, 1784.

[5] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 385; Vol. XX, p. 175.

dred, and even five hundred thousand acres, as a gentleman formerly would do of one thousand. In defiance of the proclamation of Congress, they roam over the Indian side of the Ohio, mark out lands, survey and even settle on them. This gives great discontent to the Indians, and will, unless measures are taken in time to prevent it, inevitably produce a war with the western tribes. . . . Declare all steps heretofore taken to procure land on the northwest side of the Ohio, contrary to the prohibition of Congress, to be null and void, — and that any person thereafter, who shall presume to mark, survey, or settle on lands beyond the limit of the new States, or purchased lands, shall not only be considered as outlaws, but fit subjects for Indian vengeance. If these or similar measures are adopted, I have no doubt of Congress's deriving a very considerable revenue from the western territory."[6]

For the purpose of carrying out the policy of Congress, three of the Commissioners — Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee — together with representatives from Pennsylvania, met in conference at Fort Stanwix with chiefs and warriors of the Iroquois and a few representatives from the Delaware and Shawnee tribes. In these councils, which took place during the month of October, 1784, Cornplanter, Chief of the Seneca, and Captain Aaron Hill, Chief of the Mohawk, assumed to represent the cause not alone of the Six Nations but also of all the tribes west to the Mississippi.[7] The words of advice by La Fayette during the first day of the council went far to prepare the Indians to accede to the terms submitted to them, for he spoke as a representative and great warrior of the French nation as well as a leader and general among the Americans.[8]

[6] Ford's *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. X, pp. 417, 418.

[7] Minutes of the treaty are given in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, pp. 406, 430.

[8] LaFayette's supposed speech is given in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 429. He spoke of the alliance between the French and the

The Governor of New York disregarded the invitation to join in the conference, insisting on the right, denied by the United States, of a State to treat separately with the Indians. He had already submitted terms of peace to the Iroquois and his agents strove in various ways to frustrate the efforts of the Commissioners.[9]

According to the terms finally agreed upon, the Iroquois surrendered all their title to the lands north and west of the Ohio.[10] But the Western tribes were not prepared to have their rights disposed of so cavalierly and accused the Iroquois of breach of faith.[11] Consequently invitations were forwarded to those tribes to attend a conference at Fort McIntosh, and toward the close of November George Rogers Clark, Arthur Lee, and Richard Butler, accompanied by a guard of artillery under Colonel Harmar, proceeded to that post. Commissioners from Pennsylvania were also in attendance.

Very slowly chiefs and warriors of the Chippewa, Ottawa, Wyandotte, and Delaware, accompanied by their women and children, gathered for the conference. With difficulty were their demands for provisions, ammunition, kettles, blankets, and rum complied with.[12] The Commissioners and soldiers themselves, housed in a dilapidated fort in the depth of winter, suffered for want of sufficient clothing.

On January 21, 1785, an agreement was reached, the

Americans and the entrance of the Indians into that alliance after peace with the Americans had been commemorated. This would entitle them to receive the manufactures of France in trade. See *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 146.

[9] Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, pp. 408-419.

[10] In the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768, the Ohio was fixed as the boundary line. By the treaty of 1784, a tract six miles square around Fort Oswego was reserved to the United States. The Iroquois also ceded to Pennsylvania all territory claimed by them within the bounds of that State.— Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 429.

[11] Lee's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 337, passim.

[12] Lee's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 341. Orders were issued later that no rum should be furnished the Indians.

first in a long series of treaties by which the United States gained the territory northwest of the Ohio River. In exchange for the goods to be distributed among the tribes, the Indians surrendered their title to the lands, retaining possession of an area in the northwestern portion of the present State of Ohio. The boundary line of this reservation ran from Lake Erie up the Cuyahoga, and down the Tuscarawas to a spot above Fort Laurens. It then extended west to the portage between the Big Miami and a branch of the Maumee, along the latter river to Lake Erie and thence to the starting place.[13] Certain places within this territory which were to be under the control of the United States were reserved for the establishment of trading posts.[14] This cession of territory, estimated at thirty million acres, was greater than had been anticipated.[15]

The Shawnee, the most warlike of the Ohio tribes, were not present at Fort McIntosh. Because of their ascendancy over the other tribes, no agreement could be lasting without their assent. At this time, there were clear signs of the neutralization of the efforts of the American Commissioners on the part of British agents.[16] In fact, the leading features of the British policy relative to the Northwest, in vogue during the succeeding ten years, were manifest.[17]

Upon the announcement of provisional peace, officials at Detroit and Mackinac were alarmed at the Indian problem with which they were confronted. "Heavens,"

[13] *American State Papers*, Vol. V, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 11.

[14] Six miles square were thus reserved at the mouth of the Maumee; six miles square on the portage between the St. Mary and the Big Miami; six miles square on Sandusky Lake; and two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of the Sandusky.

[15] Ford's *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. X, p. 447.

[16] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 486.

[17] For an excellent account of the British policy, see McLaughlin's *The Western Posts and the British Debts* in the *Yale Review*, Vol. III, pp. 408-424; Vol. IV, pp. 58-79.

exclaimed Colonel De Peyster, "If goods do not arrive soon, what will become of me — I have lost several stone wt. of flesh within these twenty days."[18] In communicating the treaty to his subordinates, General Haldimand warned them to keep the terms from the Indians as long as possible. But reports soon spread throughout the Indian country.[19] Whole villages journeyed to the posts impatiently demanding what was to become of them and their lands and requesting supplies of blankets, paints, feathers, rum, and other goods which had been promised.[20] Agents were dispatched to the various tribes to prevent the coming of greater numbers.[21]

That peace had come seemed no less agreeable to the Indians than to the whites, but they were gravely concerned over the rumored boundaries. "They look upon our conduct to them as treacherous, and cruel", wrote a British representative who had conferred with the chiefs of the Six Nations. "They told me they never could believe that our King could pretend to cede to America what was not his own to give, or that the Americans would accept from him what he had no right to grant. . . . they still insisted that the King had no right to give away Forts built in the heart of their country, without consulting them, but leaving them to the mercy of their enemies and his enemies, a conduct that was scandalous & dishonorable to the English . . . . I do from my soul Pity these People, and should they commit outrages at giving up these Posts, it would by no means surprize me."[22]

By the end of June, there was evidence of an inter-

[18] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 369.

[19] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1886, p. 64.

[20] For a list of Indian presents at Detroit, see *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 382.

[21] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 379, 407.

[22] Letter of Brigadier General Maclean to General Haldimand, May 18, 1783.— *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 117-121. The letter was sent to Lord North.

pretation of the terms of the treaty which was very early to become a settled policy on the part of British officials. While Detroit was acknowledged by General Haldimand to be within the limits of the United States,[23] Colonel De Peyster made the following declaration before an Indian Council: "I tell you the World is now at peace and you have saved your lands, but had you not defended them agreeable to my desire, the Americans would have taken them from you."[24] The fact that he had not received the "particulars of the peace", and in part, no doubt, a fear of Indian wrath, may have induced De Peyster to interpret so liberally the terms of the treaty. But Sir John Johnson could neither plead ignorance nor fear for his speech to the Six Nations, when he said: "Although the King, your Father, has found it necessary . . . . to conclude a long, bloody, expensive and unnatural war, by a peace which seems to give you great uneasiness on account of the boundary line agreed upon between His Majesty's Commissioners and those of the United States: yet you are not to believe, or even think that by the Line which has been described, it was meant to deprive you of an extent of country, of which the right of soil belongs to, and is in yourselves as sole Proprietors, ... neither can I harbour an idea that the United States will act so unjustly or impolitically as to endeavor to deprive you of any part of your country under the pretext of having conquered it."[25]

[23] Letter to Lord North, June 2, 1783.— *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 365.

While British officers could not deny the validity of the treaty, they did deny its effect so far as it concerned the Indians. Haldimand wrote Johnson that he did not consider that any of the Indian territory within the United States was ceded by a line drawn to define the southern boundary of Canada.— *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1886, p. 420.

[24] Council at Detroit, June 28, 1783.— *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 371.

[25] These instructions were likewise imparted to the Northwestern tribes in a council at Sandusky on September 6, 1783.— *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 176, 177.

These first statements of British officials, relative to lands of which the cession was taken for granted by Americans, were still further emphasized in a communication of General Haldimand. On November 27, 1783, he wrote Lord North as follows: "I already hinted to your Lordship my wishes that their orders will be to withdraw the Troops and stores from the posts within a certain time, and to leave the Indians and Americans to make their own arrangements." [26]

Favor with the Indians was to be maintained, and General Haldimand and other British officials, in various ways, strove to quiet their discontent.[27] Should they be dispossessed of their lands, they were to be compensated by receiving territory on the north shore of Lake Ontario. Although the plan appealed to Joseph Brandt and other Indian leaders, only a small number of the Iroquois availed themselves of the offer. Efforts were not relaxed to convince the tribes that their alliance with Great Britain was still firm, and increased supplies were clear proofs of the assertion.[28]

Another feature of the British policy was to cement more strongly the elements of confederation among the tribes which had been developed during the years of the Revolution.[29] The personal influence of Alexander McKee among the Detroit Indians, of Simon Girty on the Wabash and the Ohio tribes, and of Joseph Brandt as special messenger from the Iroquois to the Creeks and Cherokee went far to produce this unification in the minds of the savages.[30]

[26] For the distinction between the *transfer* of the posts and their *evacuation*, see McLaughlin's *The Western Posts and the British Debts* in the *Yale Review*, Vol. IV, p. 65.

[27] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 123, 124.

[28] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 139, 177.

[29] See James's *George Rogers Clark Papers* in *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII, p. 72.

[30] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 467, 470; Vol. XX, pp. 164, 174, 176, 179, 183.

Numerous official communications bear evidence that British plans looked constantly towards maintaining peace among the tribes and restraining them from committing hostilities against the Americans. It was insisted that they were to act only on the defensive and failure to comply would lead to the withdrawal of all assistance.[31]

Among the motives back of this policy, which ultimately led to the determination to control the Northwest through retention of the posts, none was so prominent as the monopoly of the fur trade.[32] The debates in Parliament over the preliminary articles of peace and official letters give ample testimony of this fact. "You had better", it was declared, "have ceded all Canada, than to have given into this mockery of keeping the two forts of Montreal and Quebec (for they are no other than mere forts, without the trade of the interior country). All Canada is in fact lost to Great Britain. All the country from the Allegany mountains to the Mississippi lost, all the forts, settlements, carrying places, towns, inhabitants upon the lakes, lost. The peltry and fur-trade lost." [33]

Driven to a defense of the government, Lord Shelburne attempted to demonstrate that what had been denominated a "wanton concession" was virtually an economic blessing to the Kingdom. While the exports to Canada, as he stated, amounted to £150,000 and the imports therefrom to £50,000 annually, he maintained that an amount equal to four times these sums had been necessary to protect this commerce. He argued for freedom of trade, which was fast becoming a favorite maxim with English statesmen, even if its establishment brought complaints from a few interested Canadian merchants.

[31] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 122, 154.

[32] See *Yale Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 60-63.

[33] Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 377, 378.

But Cabinet pleadings of "fair intentions" towards Americans and the desire for conciliation, through "dividing the little bit of trade nature had laid at their doors", were neither satisfying nor convincing to the men of the yard-stick and the steel-yard.[34]

When the terms of the provisional peace were announced and the surrender of the fur trade south of the boundary line seemed inevitable, there was a movement in favor of the establishment of new forts north of that line. Canada, it was maintained, would furnish furs superior in quality to the area surrendered.[35] For over a century, agents of the Hudson's Bay Company had extended the field of their operations beyond forts York and Churchill on Hudson Bay until they exercised a monopoly of trade over an area of unknown extent.[36] It was suggested that the trade of this Company might be thrown open to all traders upon payment of a small tax for the support of the necessary fortifications.[37] But the men who profited through trade within the American lines were not to be won by future promises.

British control over the Indians of the Northwest was also materially strengthened by the formation of the North-West Company in 1783. During the preceding twenty years, French traders and *voyageurs* in the employ of independent British traders came each spring to Detroit, Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, and Grand Portage with their fleets of canoes laden with peltries secured in

[34] Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXIII, p. 410. The vote in the House of Lords on the provisional articles of peace showed a majority of thirteen in favor. In the House of Commons, the majority for censuring the terms was seventeen.— Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 435, 571.

[35] Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXIII, p. 465.

[36] This Company was organized under a charter granted to some London merchants by King Charles II in 1669.

[37] Lord Sheffield's *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, p. 115. Second Edition, p. 102. Parliament was to purchase the chartered rights of the Company.

trade with the Indians. To these posts at the opening of the season there returned from headquarters at Montreal brigades of batteaux, each boat of about four tons' burden and navigated by eight or ten men. In these boats were transported the woolen and cotton goods, hardware and trinkets imported from London for use in the trade. Competition and at times open warfare between the independent traders finally produced complete disorganization of the trade.[38] At the close of 1782, twelve large operators remained in the territory. The following year, a majority of them united their interests and formed a stock corporation, the North-West Company. The other independent operators joined this union in 1787.

At the outset, the North-West Company stretched its arms over the northwestern lakes, aided by Canadians, half-breeds, *voyageurs*, and Indians, as well as by Scotch agents, occupying Detroit, Mackinac, and the other posts which had formerly belonged to the French along the line of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. Their operations soon expanded to lakes Winnipeg and Athabasca, to Great Slave Lake and the Pacific Ocean.[39] Within a year after its organization, this Company was employing five hundred men in its transportation service alone, and had entered upon the policy of contesting the field with the Hudson's Bay Company.[40]

Grand Portage was their chief operating headquarters in the Northwest, and canoes from this center navigated by four or five men carried goods to the interior posts more than a thousand miles beyond.[41] In 1785, the

[38] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 50.

[39] Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, Vol. III, p. 193; and Turner's *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin* in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. IX, p. 51.

[40] The Company finally consisted of twenty-three partners and had two thousand persons in its employ.— Irving's *Astoria*, p. 12.

[41] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 51.

estimated value of the furs and outfits belonging to the Company at this post was £50,000.[42]

But Grand Portage, according to the terms of the treaty, was south of the boundary line. Memorials asking for the retention of this key to the trade of the Northwest could not have been disregarded by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton and General Haldimand, representatives of the Crown, resident at Quebec. "If the late treaty of Peace is adhered to respecting the cession of the upper Posts," one of these messages reads, "the United States will also have an easy access into the North-West by way of the Grand Portage. From these circumstances your memorialist is humbly of opinion, that this branch of trade will soon fall a prey to the enterprizes of other nations, to the great prejudice of His Majesty's subjects, unless some means are speedily used to prevent it." [43]

Detroit and Mackinac constituted the trade headquarters for the territory between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. Besides, they were essential to the life of the trade at Grand Portage. Boats from Montreal were compelled to secure additional supplies from these posts or change the character of their cargoes, then made up of two-thirds goods and one-third provisions. A let-

[42] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 53.

[43] Memorial of Peter Pond, a member of the North-West Company, to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, April 18, 1785.—*Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 53.

"It, therefore, becomes necessary for Government to protect and encourage the North-West Company in order that trading posts may be settled and connections formed with the natives all over the Country, even to the Sea Coast; by which means so firm a footing may be established as will preserve that valuable trade from falling into the hands of other powers, and under proper management it may certainly in a short time be so extended as to become an object of great importance to the British nation & highly advantageous to this mutilated province." The memorial refers also to the establishment of a trading-post on the Pacific by some Russians.

During the summer of 1784, trade northwest of Lake Superior was made accessible through the discovery of a new route.—*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 462; Vol. XX, p. 221.

ter to Hamilton declares that "Should the United States be put in possession of the Posts, their situation will be still more precarious, as the Americans will have it in their power to injure or ruin every man from this part of the Province, who depends on receiving his Provisions from that Settlement." [44] Fears were also expressed lest, with the transfer of these posts, British resident traders would elect to become American citizens.

Year by year, the territory within the American lines contributed furs amounting to not less than £100,000 sterling to the Canadian merchants.[45] Traders outfitting at Detroit carried annually into the Indian country goods of British manufacture amounting to more than one-half that amount. In these figures may be seen a partial interpretation of the policy of statesmen which was evolved under pressure from the commercial classes. "Not thinking the naked independence a sufficient proof of his liberality, to the United States, exclaimed a member of the House of Commons, he has clothed it with the warm covering of our fur-trade." [46]

London merchants demanded legislation which would prevent the loss of this trade. A document of July 22, 1783, recently found, well illustrates this influence.[47] In this appeal the merchants say: "Furs have been sent hither from the first settlement of America and upon exportation Bonds were given that they should be imported into Great Britain; affected as this Trade is expected to be in its Circuit by Canada a great Part of what heretofore came that way will most probably be now inverted

[44] May 2, 1785.— *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 55.

[45] During the year 1785, furs valued at £100,000 sterling were received from the Detroit and Mackinac traders. In 1786, the estimated amount was £160,000 sterling.— *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 462, 473, 474.

[46] Opposition to the peace preliminaries.— Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXIII, p. 457.

[47] For the document and an account of its discovery and significance, consult *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 769-780.

into New England and New York, in which States as well as in Pennsylvania much Beaver was manufactured and even exported to the West Indies; . . . The French it is to be feared will rival us in the manufacture of Furs; it is therefore presumed that Beaver Skins and other Furs should be received Duty free as the only means to render Great Britain the mart for these articles, or should they still continue subject to any Duty, the whole should be drawn back on Exportation. It will, moreover, be necessary for the better security of this Trade that all the carrying places, Lakes, Rivers, and other waters and all ways and passes by land be open to his Majesty's subjects to pass and repass freely to and from the Indian Country, as well as to the Indians in like manner from and to the Province of Quebec."

The problem demanded settlement, for during the summer of 1783 enterprising Americans were pushing into the Northwest. Washington early recognized the significance of the refusal to surrender the posts. "Bribery", he wrote, "and every address which British art could dictate have been practiced to soothe them, to estrange them and to secure their trade." [48]

Under instructions from Congress, Washington prepared a communication to General Haldimand which was delivered to him on August 11, 1783. Baron Steuben, who acted as special messenger, was given full power to arrange for taking possession of the posts occupied by the British forces.[49] He was kindly received by British officials, but was informed by General Haldimand that since he had received no notification of the ratification of peace he was not warranted in complying with the request.[50] With like decision, he declined to permit Gen-

[48] Ford's *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. X, p. 420, November 2, 1784. "But it is now more than twelve months since I foretold what has happened and I shall not be surprised if they leave us *no posts* to occupy."

[49] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 141.

[50] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 167, 168.

eral Steuben to visit the posts on the lakes in order to ascertain what measures would be necessary for their proper garrisoning.[51] To what degree other Canadian officials were cognizant of the purpose of Haldimand can not be stated, but that they fully appreciated its significance and contributed to its strength can not be questioned. A few days before the demand made by Washington was prepared, General Maclean gave a clear statement of the situation. Fearful of the "designing knavery" of Americans, he wrote: "The Indians get this day from the King's Stores the bread they are to eat tomorrow, and from his magazines the clothing that covers their nakedness; in short, they are not only our allies, but they are a part of our Family; and the Americans might as well (while we are in possession of these Posts) attempt to seduce our children & servants from their duty and allegiance as to convene and assemble all the Indian Nations, without first communicating their intentions to His Majesty's Representatives in Canada." [52]

Another objection brought against the treaty in Parliament besides the "total and absolute loss of the fur-trade" was "that all faith was broken with the Indians" and that, as a consequence, "the province of Canada was rendered insecure." [53] That Haldimand was, in part,

Reply to Washington, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 165.

[51] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 165, 168.

[52] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 139. July 8, 1783. The letter was addressed to Colonel De Peyster. "For I do not believe the world ever produced," he said, "a more deceitful or dangerous set of men than the Americans; and now they are become such Arch-Politicians by eight years practice, that were old Matchivarell alive, he might go to school to the Americans to learn Politics more crooked than his own; we therefore cannot be too cautious."

[53] Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 381, 383. "Having given up the posts which awed the Indians, we could no longer be protected from their ravages. Their lust of plunder, their revenge for our shameful and unpardonable treatment of them, would give rise to scenes of cruelty, from which the civilized heart must revolt with abhorrence; and the sufferers would be our own innocent fellow-subjects."

dominated by this fear of savage retaliation when he refused to treat with Steuben is manifest in the letter explanatory of his conduct. "To prevent such a disastrous event as an Indian war," he wrote Lord North, "is a consideration worthy of the attention of both nations, and cannot be prevented so effectually as by allowing the Posts in the Upper Country to remain as they are for sometime. I already hinted to your Lordship my wishes that their orders will be to withdraw the Troops and stores from the posts within a certain time, and to leave the Indians and Americans to make their own arrangements." [54]

On March 19, 1784, Governor Clinton of New York sent Colonel Fish as a special messenger to ask that he be informed when arrangements might be made for the transfer of Niagara and other posts within that State.[55] General Haldimand maintained that, since the treaty had been made with the United States, it would not be permissible to treat with a single State. In May, Governor Chittenden of Vermont made a similar request relative to posts on Lake Champlain.[56]

Colonel Hull was sent by General Knox, on behalf of the United States, to demand the precise time when the posts were to be given up. This message was delivered on July 12, 1784, with the proposal that they enter into negotiations for the transfer. But Haldimand refused to accede to the request.[57] At that time he had received instructions written by Lord Sydney on April 8, 1784, more than a month before the ratifications were exchanged. Refusal to give up the posts was approved, and their evacuation was to be delayed "till the Articles of the Treaty of Peace are fully complied with." [58] In this

[54] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1885, p. 574.
[55] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 215.
[56] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1885, p. 367.
[57] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 238.
[58] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1884-1885, p. 286.

delay, Haldimand saw an opportunity for traders in the interior to withdraw their property and for the Indians to make more advantageous terms with the Americans.[59]

By the middle of August definite orders were given to discontinue work on the new fortifications on the Canadian side of the line.[60] In November, while the possibility of the evacuation of the posts was still suggested, there was evidently greater concern about the enforcement of decrees against American traders, who were persistent in their efforts to become masters of the Northwest trade which was then yielding unusual returns.[61]

The following summer the Americans were still in doubt as to the real designs of Great Britain. Since the marks of friendship towards the Indians and the encouragement to emigrants from American territory were continuous, it was conjectured that the posts would not be given up.[62] John Adams was then in London in the capacity of special Commissioner striving to ascertain the reason for the non-fulfillment of the terms of the treaty but no definite answer to his inquiries was brought to the consideration of Congress before November 1, 1786.[63]

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[59] Haldimand to Johnson, June 14, 1784.— *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1886, p. 431.

[60] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 243.

[61] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 269.

[62] *Jay Correspondence and Public Papers*, Vol. III, pp. 160, 161.

[63] *Jay Correspondence and Public Papers*, Vol. III, p. 214. As Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Jay made a report to Congress on the charges made by Great Britain.— *Secret Journals of Congress, Foreign Affairs*, Vol. IV, pp. 185 ff.

Jay wrote Adams, November 1, 1786: "The result of my inquiries into the conduct of the States relative to the treaty is, that there has not been a single day since it took effect, on which it has not been violated in America by one or other of the States."— *Jay Correspondence and Public Papers*, Vol. III, p. 214.

For the mission of John Adams to Great Britain, see John Adams's *Works*, Vol. VIII, pp. 326, 368, 395. For a summary of this mission and of the later policy of Great Britain, consult McLaughlin's *The Western Posts and the British Debts* in the *Yale Review*, Vol. III, p. 414, passim; Vol. IV, p. 61, passim.

Meantime immigration to the West increased steadily. The income from the land-office of the Kentucky District in 1783 amounted to some four hundred pounds. During 1784 the fees from this office exceeded two thousand pounds. Fleets of boats setting out from Pittsburgh and Wheeling for Kentucky loaded with families, household goods, slaves, and stock were commonly observed.[64] "And by the numbers which pass," wrote a traveler in 1785, "seems as if the old states would depopulate, and the inhabitants be transported to the new."[65] It was estimated that a thousand boats descended the Ohio during the year. At the opening of navigation in 1786, a thousand people are said to have gone to Kentucky by boat within forty days. Fully as many more came through the wilderness from Cumberland Gap.[66] The voyage down the river was full of hardships and dangers. Boats were damaged and frequently destroyed with consequent loss of life because of the sand-banks, rapids, sunken logs, and sudden squalls of wind.[67] At times, they were fired upon by bands of Indians, but notwithstanding the dangers the spirits of the emigrants were buoyed up by the prospect which was to open in the fields to which they were bound. Travelers returning from Kentucky praised, without measure, the "Eden of the West", where was to be found the finest soil, timber, and climate in the world. The range was declared to be inexhaustible, the timber abundant, and elk, deer, turkeys, and other wild game inexhaustible.[68]

"Here", exclaimed one with fine prophetic insight, are the finest and most excellent sites for farms, cities,

[64] Lee's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 340.

[65] Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 499.

[66] *George Rogers Clark Papers, Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. I, p. 43. March 28, 1786.

[67] Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, pp. 433, 449, 452, 453.

[68] *George Rogers Clark Papers, Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. LIV, p. 45.

and towns. Here may the industrious and broken-hearted farmer, tired with the slavery of the unfortunate situation in which he was born, lay down his burthen and find rest on these peaceful and plenteous plains; here may Iberia, Britain and Scotia, pour out their superabundant sons and daughters, who with cheerful hearts, and industrious hands, will wipe away the tear of tyrannic toil, and join the children of America in the easy labors of comfort and plenty, and bless the providence of that power who hath directed them to such a land."[69]

Pittsburgh seemed to promise little as the site for a future city, owing to the encroachment of the rivers on their banks. The little log houses were occupied chiefly by Scotch and Irish. Money was used, but barter in wheat, flour, and skins was common. At the beginning of the year 1785, there were four attorneys in the town, two doctors, but no clergymen.[70] The *Pittsburgh Gazette*, the first newspaper west of the Alleghenies, was set up the following year.

The estimated population of Kentucky was thirty thousand.[71] Louisville with a population of three hundred, notwithstanding its superior location, was making but slow progress owing chiefly to extravagance in wages and the indifference of tradesmen. Much time was consumed by all classes in playing cards, drinking liquor, and speculating in land and town lots.[72] May Day and the Fourth of July were the leading holidays. The celebration on the first of May consisted of dancing in a circle around a pole decorated with flowers, followed by "drinking and carousing, and firing guns in honor of St. Tammany, the patron of the festival."[73]

[69] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, pp. 446, 447.

[70] Lee's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 339.

[71] *George Rogers Clark Papers, Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 43. March 28, 1786.

[72] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 494.

[73] Buell's *Journal* in Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, p. 143.

Since the year 1779, in spite of the efforts to prevent them, trespassers had been taking possession of lands on the "Indian Side" of the Ohio between Fort McIntosh and the mouth of the Muskingum. Such settlements existed thirty miles up some of the tributaries of the Ohio.[74] The completion of each treaty opened a new field for land-jobbers and speculators who were characterized as "prowling about like wolves in many shapes."[75]

The Commissioners at Fort McIntosh gave the following instructions to Colonel Harmar, who was in command of the troops on the Ohio:[76] "Surveying or settling the lands not within the limits of any particular State being forbid by the United States, in Congress assembled, the commander will employ such force as he may judge necessary in driving off persons attempting to settle on the lands of the United States."[77] Two months later Ensign Armstrong, with a small force, was sent by Colonel Harmar to dispossess these intruders. The order was executed from Pittsburgh to a point opposite Wheeling.[78] Armstrong's report showed that unless early action was taken by Congress to prevent trespassing on lands west of the Ohio, "that country will soon be inhabited by a banditti whose actions are a disgrace to human nature."[79] He declared that there were six hundred families settled on the Hocking and the Muskingum and fifteen hundred persons living on the Scioto and the Miami. So determined were these adventurers to hold and govern their possessions that they issued a call for election of members to a convention

[74] *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, Vol. VI, p. 135; *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 1.

[75] Ford's *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. X, p. 447.

[76] January 24, 1785. *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 3, Note 1.

[77] This proclamation probably originated with Arthur Lee.— Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 340.

[78] *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 3, 4.

[79] *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 4, Note 1.

which was to frame a constitution.[80] This was but another of the assertions of Squatter Sovereignty so frequently proclaimed by communities west of the Alleghenies during the preceding five years.[81]

Alarmed at the "excessive rage" for possessing Western lands, Congress, by the ordinance of May 20, 1785, provided for the survey and sale of lands northwest of the Ohio which had been acquired from the Indians.[82] The fund was to be applied towards the extinguishment of the public debt.

Early in June, a report sent by Colonel Harmar to the Secretary of War showed clearly that order could with difficulty be preserved in this region. While the intruders had been driven off for a distance of seventy miles below Pittsburgh, he declared that the number beyond was "immense", and that, "unless Congress enters into immediate measures", it would be impossible to prevent an extension of these settlements.[83] Besides, British agents and traders from Detroit were keeping alive the spirit of resentment among the Indians against the American advance. "They knew", a Council of the tribes proclaimed, "their [United States] intention was

[80] March 12, 1785. *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 5.

[81] See Turner's *Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era* in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. I, pp. 70-87, 251-268.

"I do certify," the last paragraph of the advertisement for the elections declared, "that all mankind, agreeable to every constitution formed in America, have an undoubted right to pass into every vacant county, and there to form their constitution, and that from the confederation of the whole United States, Congress is not empowered to forbid them, neither is Congress empowered from that confederation to make any sale of uninhabited lands to pay the public debts, which is to be by a tax levied and lifted by authority of the Legislature of each State."—*St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 5, Note.

[82] It was estimated that ten million acres could be placed on the market at one dollar an acre and that subsequent treaties would yield twenty million acres more. In this manner the bulk of the domestic indebtedness would be provided for. — Ballagh's *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, Vol. II, pp. 349, 362, 373.

[83] *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 6.

to draw near, so near that in bed they could hear the sound of axes felling the trees."[84]

To make their demands more effective and at the same time protect the surveyors of the public lands from assault by the Indians, Colonel Harmar was directed by Congress to take post between the Muskingum and the Great Miami rivers.[85] Accordingly, Fort Harmar was erected at the mouth of the Muskingum and the militia was called out for three years' service on the frontiers.

At the first opportunity, however, large numbers of those ejected from their lands returned and rebuilt their cabins.[86] The difficulties were exaggerated because of the confusion of titles to land in Kentucky. It was said that scarcely one-tenth of the Kentucky settlers held their lands with certain titles. Thousands had gone to the south of the Ohio expecting to secure lands on easy terms, but were disappointed and were finally "obliged to settle on other person's lands on sufferance."[87] Thus Kentucky offered no satisfactory refuge for dispossessed settlers from across the Ohio.

On April 18, 1785, Congress appointed George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler, and Oliver Wolcott special Commissioners, with instructions to hold a conference with the Western Indians.[88] Six thousand dollars were appropriated for the purchase of goods and for other necessary expenses. October 1st was fixed upon as the time for beginning the conference, and General Clark, to whom was entrusted the messages to the tribes of the Western district, was given power to carry on negotiations provided the other Commissioners were not present.

[84] Council of Shawnee, Mingo, Delaware, and Cherokee, May 18, 1785.— *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 153.

[85] *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 7.

[86] Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, pp. 437, 438, 440.

[87] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 507.

[88] S. H. Parsons served as third Commissioner in the place of Oliver Wolcott.

Clark reached the Falls of the Ohio the middle of September. On October 25th, when Clark and Butler fixed on the location for the conference at the mouth of the Miami, there was no positive assurance that any of the tribes would attend.[89] From the reports of messengers, the Delaware, Wyandotte, and Shawnee were not disposed to place themselves under the protection and friendship of the United States. It was said that Simon Girty, Captain Caldwell, and other agents had shortly before visited the Shawnee and prejudiced them against the Americans.[90] The Indians were assured that peace had not been concluded and that fighting would be resumed in the spring; that they would receive goods at better rates from the British than from the Americans; that the Big Knives were not to be trusted, for it was their intention to collect the Indians and put them to death.[91] While among the Miami, the messengers were treated with marked disrespect, and their horses were stolen. The Wabash Indians "appeared extremely careless and unconcerned about the speeches and messages they received."[92] Chiefs of these tribes in conference at Detroit, September 20th, assured McKee that they were determined to follow the advice of the Six Nations and not attend the council called by the Americans. They asserted that they were determined to defend their lands to the last man and that the British must be strong in their defense.[93]

[89] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 456. The spot finally selected was one mile above the mouth of the river in order to get an elevated position. Congress had previously designated that a post for preventing settlers from taking possession of lands should be located on this site.

[90] These men were in the employ of Alexander McKee, British agent at Detroit.

[91] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 457.

[92] *Draper Manuscript Collections, Trip VI*, p. 224. William Clark was the messenger to the Wabash tribes.

[93] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 164.

While awaiting the reply of the Indians, the company of militia, consisting of seventy men under Captain Finney which was sent as a guard to the Commissioners, was engaged in clearing the ground and building blockhouses.[94] By November 10th, this structure, called Fort Finney, was completed.

Chiefs of the Wyandotte and Delaware, with their followers, attracted by the presents of flour, rum, and tobacco, soon gathered for the conference, but the Shawnee disregarded the messages. Impatient at the delay, the Commissioners issued a final summons in which they declared it necessary for them to decide either upon peace or war within fifteen days.[95]

On January 13, one hundred and fifty warriors, accompanied by their women and children, arrived at the fort.[96] The day following, the formalities incident to such a conference were observed. Chief Melonthe, beating a drum and singing, accompanied by the other chiefs, marched to the council house followed by the young warriors dancing, the armed warriors headed by their war-chief, and the women and children. Their salute was returned with three volleys by the American troops. During the ensuing three weeks, the Commissioners endeavored to make clear to the savage mind the terms which would be satisfactory to the American Government. The treaty with Great Britain and the boundary line established at Fort McIntosh were especially emphasized. The Shawnee promised that all American prisoners would be returned, but sullenly refused to give three hostages as pledges for its performance. "We are Shawnese", they declared, and "what we have promised we will perform."[97] And "as to the lands", they said,

[94] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 457.

[95] Sent to the Indians on December 1st.— Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 90.

[96] One hundred and sixty-eight women and children were present.

[97] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 522.

"God gave us this country, we do not understand measuring out the lands, it is all ours." The demands were summarily refused. With like assurance the Commissioners determined not to recede. They spurned the black string presented, and in their ultimatum declared: "It rests now with you, the destruction of your women and children, or their future happiness, depends on your present choice. Peace or war is in your power; make your choice like men, and judge for yourselves." [98] The move proved successful and the Indians resolved to sue for peace. Terms were agreed upon January 31, 1786, the Indians acknowledging the sovereignty of the United States over all the territory ceded by Great Britain. The territory between the Big Miami and the Wabash was to be reserved to the tribes there in conference. Five hostages were given as assurance that all white prisoners were to be released.[99]

To all appearances the Indians were satisfied with the treaty, and the Shawnee sent out messengers to the other tribes urging them also to come to terms with the Americans.[100] The Commissioners were confident that all animosities had been wiped out and that it remained only for Congress to survey and sell the lands, and settle upon some form of government.[101]

Scarcely had the Shawnee reached their villages, however, before there were murmurings of discontent, and a few weeks thereafter they were declaring that the treaty had been signed only to gain time and prevent the destruction of their villages by the Americans and that they had no intention of keeping the articles.[102] Their wrath

[98] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 524.

[99] *American State Papers*, Vol. V, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 11.

[100] Butler and Parsons to the President of Congress, February 1, 1786. *Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 15, S, 2-11. Such a treaty was proposed by the Commissioners to be held at a place more central for the Western Indians.

[101] Butler's *Journal* in Craig's *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 516.

[102] *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, pp. 174, 175. February 27 and May 29, 1786.

was kindled especially against Clark and his associates. It was conceded by British officials that no boundary line could be drawn by the Americans and that no surveys or settlements north of the Ohio would be tolerated.[103]

Very clearly the policy, inaugurated by Congress, of treating either with a few tribes or a single tribe was a failure. The Indians held tenaciously to the idea of confederation, which had been inculcated among them by British agents. In the various councils which took place during the summer of 1786, Joseph Brandt, who had shortly before spent some months in London, strove to carry out the injunction of Lord Sydney to keep the tribes united but to prevent hostilities against the Americans.[104] No attempt was made to give him a right understanding on the surrender of territory. Efforts at conciliation were neutralized also by Cornplanter, who, with other Indian chiefs, accompanied the American Commissioners on their return to New York. Upon being presented to Congress, they were informed that all Indian lands had been ceded to the United States but that they would be protected on their allotments. This statement by Congress was received with derision in a council of the confederates held at Niagara on July 25, 1786.[105]

Their own position was pointed out in a remonstrance forwarded to Congress in December, in which they declared: "We hold it indispensably necessary that any cession of our lands should be made in the most public manner, and by the united voice of the confederacy; holding all partial treaties as void and of no effect. We think the mischief and confusion which has followed is owing to you, having managed everything respecting us in your own way. You kindled your council fires where you

103 *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 175.

104 *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, pp. 177-179.

105 *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, pp. 175, 179. There were sachems and warriors of the Six Nations together with deputies from the Wyandotte, Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomi, Shawnee, Cherokee, and Mohawk tribes.

thought proper without consulting us, at which you held separate treaties, and have entirely neglected our plan of having a general conference with the different nations of the confederacy. Had this happened, we have reason to believe everything would have been settled between us in a most friendly manner. We wish, therefore, you would take it into serious consideration and let us speak to you in the manner we proposed. Let us have a treaty with you early in the spring. We say let us meet half way and let us pursue such steps as become upright and honest men. We beg that you will prevent your surveyors and other people from coming on our side of the Ohio River."[106]

During the summer of 1786 it was evident that the United States could not gain possession of the Northwest by the methods heretofore pursued. The causes for the failure of this policy were patent to the Commissioners at Fort Finney. While the counteracting influence of British agents among the tribes was cited as the chief cause, American traders under British patronage were pursuing measures which tended to alienate the minds of the savages from the United States.[107] Numbers of the settlers who had been ejected from the lands north of the Ohio returned in the spring to rebuild their houses and plant their crops. Americans in large numbers were securing lands in the French settlements on the Wabash and in the Illinois country. With no regular government in those communities, anarchy developed because of the antipathy toward the newcomers on the part of the neighboring savages.[108] With difficulty, were Kentuckians re-

[106] Confederate Council held near the mouth of the Detroit River, November 28 to December 18, 1786.— *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 467-469.

[107] Report of the Commissioners to the President of Congress, Richard Henry Lee, February 1, 1786.—*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 15, S, 2-11.

[108] Petition to Congress for protection by these Americans, June 1, 1786.— *George Rogers Clark Papers, Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 53, J, 31.

strained from attacking the Indians even while they were in council with the Commissioners. The Wabash tribes declared war on the United States, and Kentucky settlements again suffered from savage depredations.

No permanent peace was possible, Clark declared in a letter to the President of Congress, unless a sufficient force should penetrate to the heart of the Indian country and reduce the confederated tribes to obedience. Once more he urged the necessity for the capture of Detroit.[109] The accomplishment of these results do not come within the years now under discussion.

[109] June 8, 1786, to Richard Henry Lee.—*Draper Manuscript Collections*, Vol. 14, S, 207-210.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AND THE SPLIT IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

By O. M. Dickerson

There is a very general opinion that Lincoln by his adroit questions at Freeport forced Douglas into admissions that culminated in the split in the Democratic party. The smaller histories almost universally reflect this point of view, and even Bassett in his new one volume history heads the account with "How Lincoln Destroyed Douglas", and concludes with the following statement: "From this time, Judge Douglas, try as you may, you will never again induce the Southern friends of slavery to think you their safe champion and defender." [1] Rhodes gives essentially the same idea; [2] and Johnson in his life of Douglas gives great weight to that conception though he states the facts more fully.[3] In the face of such unanimity of opinion, actual or inferred, it is probably presumptuous to doubt. Nevertheless it is possible that we are overrating Lincoln's part in the Democratic family row. No great party division comes suddenly. It is rather the

[1] Bassett's *A Short History of the United States*, p. 501. On page 505 he intimates that Douglas was forced into opposing the extreme Southern demands.

[2] Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Restoration of Home Rule in the South in 1870*, Vol. II, p. 328.

[3] "What he desired to extort from Douglas was his opinion of the legality of such action in view of the Dred Scott Decision. Should Douglas answer in the negative, popular sovereignty would become an empty phrase; should he answer in the affirmative, he would put himself, so Lincoln calculated, at variance with Southern Democrats, who claimed that the people of a Territory were now inhibited from any such power over slave property. In any event, Lincoln proposed to give such publicity to Douglas's reply as to make any future evasion or retraction impossible." — Johnson's *Stephen A. Douglas*, p. 372.

result of fundamental differences of opinion developed through a period of years. The Democratic split was no exception to this general rule, as I shall undertake to show.

The slavery issue had gradually produced a division between Democrats North and Democrats South. This change is shown directly in the defection of the Wilmot Proviso men, Free Soil Democrats, Independent Democrats, and the Anti-Nebraska Democrats. Those who remained in the party were unquestionably influenced by the growing anti-slavery movement in the North and the new aggressive pro-slavery propaganda in the South. As early as 1854, words changed in meaning with the latitude of the reader. This is shown by the reluctance with which certain Southern men supported the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the difference of opinion which prevailed in regard to its meaning. Southern men believed that they had a constitutional right to take their slaves into a Territory and keep them, and that neither Congress nor a Territorial legislature could deprive them of that right. Northern Democrats generally maintained that Congress had full power over slavery in the Territories, and that it could either legalize or abolish the institution, although some held that Congress should not exercise such power.[4]

Here were fundamental differences that could only be settled by compromise, and that compromise was embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Northern Democrats agreed that all the power of Congress over slavery should be delegated to the Territorial legislatures, and that under no circumstances should Territorial laws be changed by Congressional repeal. The Southern Democrats reluctantly accepted this principle, and agreed to surrender their demands for direct Congressional protection of slav-

[4] These various attitudes are reflected in the speeches in Congress and are summarized by Senator Brown in his speech on February 3, 1858.—*Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 548-553.

ery in the Territories in exchange for a repeal of the Missouri Compromise and a provision that all legal questions concerning slavery should be settled in the Federal courts. Consequently the whole matter in dispute was, by agreement, to be removed from Congress and referred to the courts and the people of the Territories.[5] Northern historians have usually considered the Kansas-Nebraska Bill as a gross betrayal of the interests of the free States by Douglas and his followers for their own political preferment, and have not recognized the fundamental compromise in the policy of popular sovereignty as introduced into the Bill by Douglas and ratified by the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati.[6]

After the Dred Scott Decision, Southern Congressmen and their adherents, including President Buchanan, insisted that they never understood that the principle of popular sovereignty gave the people of a Territory any power to abolish slavery prior to the formation of a State constitution.[7] Douglas and his Northern friends strenuously maintained that popular sovereignty had always signified the power to decide upon that and all other

[5] See especially the speeches made in the Senate February 23, 1859. — *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 1241-1275.

On July 2, 1856, Senator Brown of Mississippi said: "Under the general phraseology of the Kansas-Nebraska bill . . . . the people of a Territory have the exclusive right to legislate. I suppose, when we passed the bill, that we intended by it to give them a right to legislate on all subjects touching their domestic policy; and that if anybody was dissatisfied he should go to the courts and not come to Congress for his remedy." — Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 34th Congress, 1st Session, p. 801. This is clearly the opinion of most of the Senators as reflected in their speeches. Certainly this was the understanding of Douglas.

[6] See the general accounts in Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. I; Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, Vol. II; and Johnson's *Stephen A. Douglas*, Ch. XI.

[7] President Buchanan's attitude is clearly stated in his special message to Congress, February 2, 1858.— Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. V, pp. 471-481.

Senators Brown, Davis, and Green state the same opinion in their various speeches. See the *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress.

questions of domestic policy during the Territorial period.[8]

The Lecompton scheme violated the fundamental principle of this compromise by denying to the people of Kansas the right to make their own constitution. In essence it was an attempt to force legalized slavery upon the people of a new State by action of Congress — a course which the Southern Democrats, in accepting the principle of popular sovereignty, had agreed not to attempt. After agreeing to transfer the whole question to the people of the Territory and the courts, they had violated the agreement by attempting to use the President and Congress to make Kansas a slave State in opposition to the wishes of the people of the Territory. The Democrats of the upper portion of the Mississippi Valley refused almost unanimously to sanction this violation of the compromise, as is shown in the attitude of leading newspapers, resolutions of party conventions, and instructions by State legislatures.[9] The charge was openly made, but denied on the floor of the House of Representatives, that Illinois Congressmen in a party caucus advised Douglas that his only chance for reëlection was to denounce the Lecompton scheme.[10] We know that by doing so he made himself the most popular man in the nation. In view of his recent unpopularity that change can only be explained on the ground that he gave leadership and voice to more than a million outraged Northern Democrats. While Buchanan and his backers tried to make Douglas's action appear to be a personal quarrel with the Administration, it was in reality occasioned by their own quarrel with the great Northern Democracy.

This fact was recognized by the attempt to read

[8] See Douglas's speech, December 9, 1857, attacking the Lecompton scheme.— *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 14-18. Other senators reflect a similar attitude.

[9] Johnson's *Stephen A. Douglas*, pp. 326-328.

[10] *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 1381-1394.

Douglas and his supporters out of the Democratic party;[11] by the reiterated charge that Douglas was seeking to break up the party to further his own political fortunes; in the recognition by Douglas of the consequences of the course he proposed to pursue;[12] by the actual creation in Illinois of a separate Administration party organized to oppose the candidates regularly chosen by the overwhelming majority of Democrats who recognized Douglas as their leader;[13] and by the clear conception of the actual split in the party by such an extremist as Brown of Mississippi.

In his speech of February 3, 1858, Brown pointed out the effect of slavery upon other parties and added:

There remains for us but one party which can lay just claims to nationality, that is the Democratic party. But now the same element which broke up the Whig party, which prevented the formation of a great national American party, which has made the Republican party purely sectional, is at work for the destruction of the National Democratic party. If the destruction of that party shall be worked out, if it shall follow in the wake of its predecessors, then it is absolutely certain that the country will

[11] Senator Bigler of Pennsylvania was one of the recognized spokesmen of the Administration in the Senate. At the close of Douglas's attack upon the Lecompton scheme on December 9, 1857, he rose to defend the Administration, and on December 21, in answer to specific questions from Douglas, intimated that opposition to the Kansas program would be considered as a break with the Democratic party.— *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 18-22, 113-122.

[12] In closing his speech on December 9, 1857, Douglas said:

"If this constitution is to be forced down our throats, in violation of the fundamental principle of free government, under a form of submission that is a mockery and an insult, I will resist it to the last. I should regret any social or political estrangement, even temporarily, but if it must be, if I cannot act with you and preserve my faith and honor, I will stand on the great principle of popular sovereignty, which declares the right of all people to be left perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way. I will follow that principle wherever its logical consequences may take me, and will endeavor to defend it against assault from any and all quarters. No mortal man shall be responsible for my action but myself." — *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, p. 19.

[13] Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 322-323.

instantly be divided into two sectional parties. The whole North will unite as a northern party, and the whole south will unite as a southern party.[14]

Brown clearly recognized the slavery issue in the controversy and attempted to convict Douglas and his friends of opposing the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution because it favored slavery.[15] Douglas's denials, while emphatic, were not convincing and thus he became unacceptable to the South as a possible presidential candidate, mainly because he would not become a party to furthering the interest of slavery by direct Congressional intervention in the Territories.

Douglas's well-known doctrine of unfriendly legislation, commonly called his Freeport Doctrine, was not new in the summer of 1858; nor was it original with Douglas; nor is there the slightest evidence that he was forced into such a fatal admission as a result of Lincoln's famous second question. At Springfield, Illinois, in June, 1857, (three months after the Dred Scott Decision, and a year before his debate with Lincoln) he expressed himself on the Dred Scott Decision as follows:

While the right to carry slaves into a territory continues in full force under the Constitution, and cannot be diverted or alienated by any act of Congress, it necessarily remains a barren and worthless right unless sustained, protected, and enforced by appropriate police regulations and local legislation, prescribing adequate remedies for its violation. These regulations and remedies must necessarily depend entirely upon the will and wishes of the people of the Territory, as they can only be prescribed by the local legislatures.[16]

This statement, made freely, is fully as explicit and definite as the one at Freeport. Furthermore, during the debates with Lincoln and prior to the meeting at Freeport, Douglas restated the above doctrine in even

[14] *Congressional Globe,* 35th Congress, 1st Session, p. 549.

[15] *Congressional Globe,* 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 570-571.

[16] Johnson's *Stephen A. Douglas,* p. 322.

more explicit language at Bloomington and again at Springfield. These two statements were essentially identical and more specific than was the one made at Freeport. At Bloomington he denied that he was the originator of the idea, and said that he received it from a prominent Southern Congressman — we do not know whom.[17] His answer at Freeport indicates that his position on the question was perfectly well-known in Illinois.[18]

The main features of the Freeport Doctrine were familiarly known at Washington where they were stated in various forms by Pugh of Ohio,[19] Montgomery of

[17] "I tell you my friends, it is impossible under our institutions to force slavery on an unwilling people. If the principle of popular sovereignty asserted in the Nebraska bill be fairly carried out . . . . slavery will never exist one day or one hour against the unfriendly legislation of an unfriendly people. I care not how the Dred Scott decision may have settled the abstract question, so far as the practical result is concerned; to use the language of an eminent Southern Senator on this very question, 'I do not care a fig which way the decision shall be, for it is of no particular consequence; slavery cannot exist a day or an hour, in any Territory or State, unless it has affirmative laws sustaining and supporting it, furnishing police regulations and remedies; and an omission to furnish them would be as fatal as a constitutional prohibition. Without affirmative legislation in its favor, slavery could not exist any longer than a new born infant could survive under the heat of the sun, on a barren rock, without protection. It would wilt and die for want of support.'" — Jones's *Political Speeches and Debates of Lincoln and Douglas*, p. 10.

We are not told who the "eminent Southern Senator" was, but there are reasons for suspecting that it was Brown of Mississippi, as he evidently understood the full force of the doctrine of unfriendly legislation better than any one else.

[18] Sparks's *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, p. 160.

[19] "I believe the judiciary of the United States sent a mandate to the State of Georgia, once upon a time, reversing the conviction of a prisoner for murder. The mandate was that the prisoner should be discharged. How did the judiciary of the United States succeed? The legislature of Georgia passed a joint resolution directing the sheriff to hang the man on a day certain, and he was hanged. The mandate was of no effect; and if ten thousand judiciaries of the United States were to attempt to say to the people of a State, acting through the forms of law, 'we will make your constitution; we will say what your constitution shall be;' they will have as little satisfaction as from the mandate addressed to Georgia." — *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1144.

Pennsylvania,[20] Peyton of Kentucky,[21] Collamer of Vermont,[22] and possibly by others, during the debates on the Lecompton Constitution. Helper, in his *Impending Crisis*, also proposed taxation as a means of forcing slave-holders to free their slaves.[23] Consequently there was nothing novel, strange, or startling in Douglas's proposition. It was objectionable to the Southern leaders because its acceptance by the Northern Democracy would effectually rob the slave-owners of any appreciable benefit from the Dred Scott Decision. It would also make it impossible to commit the entire party to a pro-

[20] "Now I will not dispute the right of our southern brethern to their slaves, but that right comes from local enactment of the State; it is not derived from the law of God, but is the creature of human legislation. The right to hold a slave is a matter of positive enactment, and, being but a human law, can be repealed by the legislative authority of any country where it exists." March 19, 1858.—*Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1194.

[21] "If there is not a majority of the people there in favor of slavery they are not going to have slavery there. This constitution cannot force slavery upon a free people if they do not want it: nor can they make a Territory or a State free if a people want slaves. . . . If it is to be a free State, they will make it a free State: if it is to be a slave State, there is no power in Congress nor in the North, to make it a free State. So far as that is concerned that is a matter of entire indifference to me." March 23, 1858.—*Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 1332-1333.

[22] "Can you have slavery there by virtue of that constitution? We all know you cannot. Suppose you have a slave-State constitution — I care not how strong and how perpetual and how incapable of change it may be — do we not know that at the very first fair election by that people a Legislature will be chosen who, when they get together, will utterly refuse to pass any laws for the protection of slave property? They will pass no act for punishing a man who may entice a negro to run away. They will declare that no master shall administer stripes and correction to a slave, except by judgment of a court, and if he does he shall be guilty of assault and battery, and the negro shall be a witness against him. What is your slave property worth if you do not pass any laws for the protection of it, though the constitution provides for the right of slavery? I take it that it cannot be unconstitutional to pass such laws. They could not pronounce the failure to pass them unconstitutional. How then will you get along?" March 2, 1858.—*Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, p. 925.

[23] Helper's *The Impending Crisis of the South*, Ch. II.

gram of forcing slavery upon the Territories by act of Congress.

The willingness of Douglas to stake his political fortunes on a fight to prevent the Democratic party in Congress from abandoning its policy of non-intervention should have made his position absolutely clear; but at Jonesboro Lincoln asked a fifth question as to whether Douglas, as a member of Congress, would vote to give slave-owners protection for their slave property, should they come to Washington and demand it.[24] This was a much more crucial question than the one presented at Freeport, for it was the very one that was remorselessly forced upon Douglas a few months later in the Senate, and the one upon which the party definitely divided. Douglas answered at Jonesboro most emphatically that he would under no circumstances vote for a slave code for the Territories, since the true Democratic position was one of non-intervention.[25] It is a little strange that this important incident is scarcely referred to in the best secondary accounts of the famous Senatorial campaign.

Although Douglas has the reputation of being a decidedly slippery debater, there is nothing to indicate that he ever sought to evade the full consequences of his open and long standing advocacy of "unfriendly legislation". On the other hand, he set to work seriously to win over the more conservative Southern Democrats to his point of view, as well as to hold his Northern supporters firmly to the same doctrine. This is shown in the general trend of the speeches which he made between the close of his campaign for reëlection and his return to Washington, and by his famous *Harper's Magazine* article. His opinions were stated and defended in the most public manner without any appearance of quibbling.[26]

[24] Sparks's *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, p. 246.

[25] Sparks's *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, p. 256.

[26] Johnson's *Stephen A. Douglas*, pp. 393-395.

The Republican press did all it could to advertise the differences between Douglas and his Southern friends. This has given the impression that, had it not been for his debate with Lincoln, Douglas would have been acceptable to the slave-holders. It is doubtful if there is sufficient evidence to warrant this opinion. Douglas had followed a consistent course. He had not changed his exposition of popular sovereignty, and he was no less acceptable after the debates than he was before. He refused absolutely to surrender any portion of the principle of popular sovereignty, and there was no reason for believing that he intended to do so at any price. Southern leaders had determined to abandon that principle and therefore could not use Douglas. It is probably true that Douglas had gained greatly in political power at the North by his Freeport Doctrine, since it supplied the only course between Congressional prohibition and Congressional protection of slavery in the Territories.

The fundamental difference between the Northern and Southern Democrats broke forth in the Senate on February 23, 1859. There was no sparring for position, but each side stated its convictions clearly and defiantly, warning the other of the full consequences of any failure to accept its version of party obligations. Brown of Mississippi opened the controversy by a statement of the Southern position that is almost classic in its lucidity. He prefaced his speech with the assertion that he wished to explain his own position, and then asked others to state theirs, so that in the election of 1860 he should neither cheat nor be cheated. The Constitution, he said, recognized property rights in slaves; the Supreme Court had decided that slavery existed legally in the Territories, that a slave-owner had a right to go there with his slaves, and that neither Congress nor, by inference, a Territorial legislature could take away such rights; but

it was the duty of the legislature to supply the necessary rules and regulations to give force and life to these rights. The Constitution in itself did not protect any property; protection must be supplied by a legislature, and to be of any value must be adequate. A slave-owner had the right to call upon some power to pass the necessary laws. He should go first to the Territorial legislature and demand protection; if it was refused, then he had a right to call upon Congress to give the protection which the legislature denied. He continued:

> I know perfectly well that the Territorial Legislature of Kansas will deny protection to my property. However or by what influence prompted to make the declaration, they will declare, as they have declared within the last three weeks, that they will not only afford no protection; but that they will withdraw protection, as far as they can, and substitute unfriendly legislation in its stead. Is it expected of me and my people that we are to fold this injustice to our bosoms, and cherish it, because it comes stamped "accept this, or break up the Democratic party"?

Furthermore, he asked the Northern gentlemen "whether they would be quite content, under the same sort of compromise between conflicting elements in party, to have their rights to call upon this government to protect their mercantile marine frittered away". If their ships on the high seas were attacked by pirates, and existing laws were inadequate for their protection, and they should come to Congress to demand stronger laws; would they be satisfied when told that Congress had decided upon a policy of non-intervention with regard to that subject? He then warned the Senators that, if Kansas legislated in a spirit of hostility toward slavery, a vast majority of Southern people would demand that Congress, in obedience to the Constitution as expounded by the highest court in the land, should annul her legislation and enact laws giving adequate and sufficient protection to slave property.

As for Douglas's doctrine of unfriendly legislation, Brown agreed that a Territory had the power, either by non-action or by hostile legislation, to exclude slavery, but he denied that it had the right to do so. If it did exercise such a power, the remedy was action by Congress. "We have a right to protection for our slave property in the Territories. The Constitution as expounded by the Supreme Court awards it; and we mean to have it." [27]

Brown's statement of the legal rights of the slaveholders under Taney's interpretation of the Constitution seems almost unassailable, yet Douglas attacked it at its one vulnerable point. He admitted the full force of Taney's opinion, granted that slaves could enter a territory as freely as other property, that they had just as much right to protection after they were there as other property — just as much and no more. "If the gentleman owns property that demands extraordinary and unusual protection, that is his misfortune".[28] Congress had never passed laws conferring special protection upon horses or cattle or other personal property in the Territories, and it ought not to pass such laws for negroes. The agreement in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was clear. Whatever power of legislation Congress had was delegated to the Territorial legislature with the understanding that it must be exercised in accordance with the Constitution. Supplementing this idea, Douglas continued:

> Let the Territorial Legislature pass just such laws in regard to slavery as they think they have a right to enact under the Constitution of the United States. If I do not like those laws, I will not vote to repeal them; if you do not like them, you must not vote to repeal them; but anybody aggrieved may appeal to the Supreme Court, and if they are constitutional they must stand; if they are unconstitutional they are void.

[27] *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 1241-1244.

[28] *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 1241-1244.

That was the doctrine of non-intervention as it was expounded at the time of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, as agreed to by both Northern and Southern Democrats, and as embodied in the national platform. Douglas declared most emphatically that he would never vote for a Congressional slave code and "he had yet to learn of any man in a free state who would".

> If you repudiate the doctrine of non-intervention and form a slave code by act of Congress, when the people of a territory refuse it, you must step off the Democratic platform. We will let you depart in peace, as you no longer belong to us; you are no longer of us when you adopt the principle of congressional intervention, in violation of the Democratic creed. I stand here defending the great principle of non-intervention by Congress, and self government by the people of the Territories. That is the Democratic creed. The Northern Democrats have so understood it. . . . I tell you gentlemen of the South, in all candor, I do not believe a Democratic candidate can ever carry any one Democratic state of the North on the platform that it is the duty of the Federal government to force the people of a Territory to have slavery when they do not want it.[29]

Davis replied at once that "if, in the progress of our history, we have reached the point where it is necessary to part, as the Senator from Illinois says, I wish him God speed and a pleasant journey. No sir; not the breadth of one hair would I follow the Senator in the career that he announces".[30] Davis then plunged into a long constitutional argument to prove that there was no sovereignty in a Territory. In the midst of his speech it was announced that the Kansas Legislature had abolished slavery. Douglas, when given a chance to reply, stated that the remedy, if they did not like the Kansas law, was to take it to the Supreme Court and settle it there. He defied them to bring in a bill to repeal the law by act of Congress.[31]

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[29] *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 1244-1245.

[30] *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 1244-1245.

[31] "I do not say that an act of confiscation is constitutional; I do

Nearly all of the more prominent Senators on the Democratic side joined in the debate. Pugh of Ohio supported Douglas, and in answer to the question whether he would support the principle of Congressional intervention said, "Never! while I live, never! I consider it a monstrous demand, a violation of the plighted faith between the Democracy of the South and the Democracy of the North, again and again and again, in their legislation and in their platform; and if that be the price, as Senators say it is, the price will not be paid".[32] In the course of his remarks he quoted from Brown's speech of July 2, 1856, in which Brown accepted fully the principle of going to the courts for a remedy. To this Brown made the following insistent reply:

We have submitted the question and it has been decided in our favor. I did not mean to be understood then, nor will I be understood now, that I am willing to submit to the Supreme Court on points you can never bring to the court. The non-action of the Territorial Legislature can never be brought before the Su-

not say that the Territorial legislature has any such power. To confiscate property is one thing, to tax it, to regulate it is another thing: and yet it is not to be denied that taxation, regulation may be so exercised as very nearly to destroy it. What I do say is that, under the law organizing Kansas Territory, it is provided that the right of appeal existed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The understanding was, that if the Territorial laws were constitutional, they were to stand; if they were unconstitutional, they would become void by the act of being unconstitutional. Now, if the act confiscating that property, emancipating those slaves in Kansas, is unconstitutional, or in violation of the organic act, take it to the Supreme Court of the United States, and have it annulled. That is the remedy provided in the Kansas-Nebraska act. It is a remedy you agreed to pursue when you voted for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise act. You agreed to do it by the Cincinnati platform. You are pledged by your creed to appeal to the courts, but never to Congress, for redress in such cases. I am prepared to stand by the pledge. The Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Davis) says, if I am not willing to stand in the party on his platform, I can go out. Allow me to inform him that I stand on the platform, and those that jump off must go out of the party. It is for those to leave who cannot abide by the faith. It is for those to leave who cannot carry out the principle to which our party is irrevocably committed." — *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1255.

[32] *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1249.

preme Court. Unfriendly legislation within the limitations of the Constitution can never be brought before the Supreme Court. Non-action and that sort of unfriendly legislation . . . . would as effectually exclude us as positive action. Whatever you can get before the Supreme Court fairly and justly, I am willing to submit to them, and abide by the decision; but, of course, I am not willing to be ruled out upon points which you can never get before the court. Suppose the Legislature does not act at all, how am I to have my remedy before the Supreme Court? Can I get a mandamus? Everybody knows I cannot. That is a form by which I am excluded. Then suppose they act in an unfriendly spirit within the limits of the Constitution; how am I to get such a case before the Supreme Court? If they legislate under the taxing power . . . . and under the power to regulate the relation between master and slave; how am I to get such a case before the Supreme Court? I never can. I never meant to say I would stand only upon the decisions of the Supreme Court. I will stand upon them so far as they are rendered . . . . but I cannot stand upon decisions never rendered, and which never can be rendered.[33]

No better statement of the soundness of Douglas's position can be found. Here one of his most bitter opponents admits that the people of a Territory have the power legally to exclude slavery in spite of the Dred Scott Decision. Up to that point Douglas and his enemies agreed; but as to what was to be done about it they were poles apart. Douglas insisted that the slave-owner had neither legal nor other rights beyond what the courts gave him. Brown, Davis, and the rest of the Southern delegation insisted that he should have a further remedy, and that it was the business of Congress to supply it. Each spoke not for himself but for his section. All realized the hopeless division in the party and the fundamental sectional character of that division.

As Douglas pointed out, Congressional intervention and popular sovereignty, with appeal to the courts in

[33] *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1251.

cases of disputed property rights, were the only alternatives. He stood for the latter. The Southern Democrats and Republicans stood for the former. But it was perfectly evident to any observer that, if forced to take sides, the Northern Democracy would join the Republicans in opposing the kind of intervention which was demanded by the Southern Democrats. Hence Douglas and his followers were about as unacceptable to the South as was Lincoln and the Republicans. The Democratic party was hopelessly divided because the Southern leaders had repudiated the party compromise of 1854, and had insisted upon having their way even if it broke up the party. Since Douglas and his friends could not surrender without destroying the party at the North, they allowed Davis and his followers to go their way.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT IN THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY DURING THE FIFTIES

By Dan E. Clark

The westward movement of the American people is a subject which has long possessed a strong fascination for the historian. But the real story of that movement — told with life and color and imagination — remains to be written. Indeed, it must remain untold until in each of the States there has been prepared an adequate history of settlement and emigration. Until that time the task will continue to be too large for accomplishment by any one man. Here then is a field deserving of the careful and prompt attention of State historical societies, for the day will soon come when it will be too late to gain the personal material so vital in such a study.

It is not the purpose of this paper to present more than the merest bird's-eye view of the westward movement in the Upper Mississippi Valley during the ten years from 1850 to 1860. Obviously to do more than that within the limits of a paper of this character would be impossible even if the data were at hand for such a study. Rather, the aim has been, by means of a few general facts and a few specific illustrations, to suggest the importance of the westward migration during these years. While considerable has been written concerning the earlier periods of settlement in a number of Western States, it does not appear that much serious attention has been paid to the decade covered by this paper.

During the ten years from 1850 to 1860 the total population of the eight States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri in-

creased over 3,350,000 — an increase of more than 167 per cent, which of course was due partly to natural increase, partly to foreign immigration, and especially to the internal migration of people within the United States. From the standpoint of numbers "Illinois presents the most wonderful example of great, continuous, and healthful increase. . . . So large a population, more than doubling itself in ten years, by the regular course of settlement and natural increase" was without a parallel up to that time.

From the standpoint of percentage of increase Minnesota stood in the lead with an increase of over 2730 per cent in population during the ten years. In 1850 Minnesota contained only a few scattered settlements with a total population of 6,077, but in the years that followed such a stream of emigration set in that by 1860 there were 172,023 people in the State.

Viewed from the standpoint of both numbers and percentage of increase Iowa also presents a remarkable record of growth in population during this decade. There were 482,699 more people in the State in 1860 than there were in 1850 — an increase of over 251 per cent.

In six of these States — all but Ohio and Indiana — the number of native Americans received from other Commonwealths during these ten years was considerably in excess of the number of native-born citizens of these States who emigrated to other regions. In this respect Iowa stood first, Illinois second, and Missouri third.

At the same time this period marks the first great rush of people from New York, Pennsylvania, and the States of the Old Northwest to Minnesota and Iowa. "The greatest number of emigrants have left Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee," declared the Superintendent of the Federal Census of 1860, "seeking their 'allotted spaces' chiefly in Iowa, Illinois, Missouri,

Texas." For instance, during this decade Iowa received more than 68,000 emigrants from Ohio, over 37,000 from each of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, and nearly 30,000 from Illinois.

A study of the migration during this decade reveals the fact that Illinois was one of the favorite places of settlement for emigrants from the largest number of States. Missouri attracted settlers in considerable numbers from the second largest number of Commonwealths, while Ohio and Iowa came third and fourth in this respect. On the other hand, the migrations of native-born citizens of the eight States under discussion exemplify the rule that emigration tends to follow parallels of latitude or to flow into adjoining jurisdictions. For instance, natives of Ohio migrated chiefly to Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri; and natives of Illinois migrated chiefly to Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and Wisconsin. The only striking exceptions to the rule are to be found in the emigration to California, Oregon, and Kansas — all of which was stimulated by extraordinary causes.

Again it is to be noted that it was during the decade from 1850 to 1860 that foreign immigrants first began to come to the Mississippi Valley in large numbers. The foreign-born population of these eight States was increased over 881,000 or more than doubled. Among the six States in the entire country having greatest increase in foreign-born population during these ten years Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio ranked second, third, and sixth, respectively. In this foreign immigration Germans and Irish predominated.

Thus it is apparent that the decade under discussion witnessed a remarkable immigration to the Upper Mississippi Valley, both of native American families and of home-seekers from foreign shores. Nearly 43,000,000 acres of land were taken up in this region during these ten years, and, to quote a contemporary, "the energies

thus called into action have, in a few years, made the States of the Northwest the granary of Europe, and that section of our Union which, within the recollections of living men, was a wilderness, is now the chief source of supply in seasons of scarcity for the suffering millions of another continent."

But a more definite idea of the great wave of humanity which swept over this region during the fifties may perhaps be gained by a cross-sectional view of the emigration into one particular State. And for this purpose no better illustration can be found than the notable rush of settlers to Iowa during the two years from 1854 to 1856.

The causes for this emigration are not hard to find. The completion of railroad lines to the Mississippi River made access to the eastern border of Iowa easier, and railroad companies began that wide advertisement of Western lands which they have continued down to the present time. Furthermore, land companies and land speculators had by this time begun to hold out alluring inducements to settlers to purchase at advanced prices the lands which they had acquired a few years before at the minimum price. Emigrant guides were also being published by the score and scattered broadcast wherever there were men to whom the ownership of a piece of Western land was an object much to be desired. Articles containing glowing accounts of the beauty, advantages, and fertility of the Iowa country appeared in hundreds of Eastern newspapers until the name "Iowa" became a household word; and those who were so fortunate as already to own a home in that far-famed State wrote enthusiastic letters to their relatives and former neighbors urging them to come and share in their prosperity.

Added to all the publicity which was thus given to Iowa is the fact that the farmers in the East and especially in the Middle States and in Indiana and Ohio had

had cause for discouragement. During the summer of 1854 a severe drouth was experienced throughout the entire Ohio Valley and in the States to the eastward; while the Middle States suffered from a fatal epidemic of cholera. Hard times also knocked at the door of many an Eastern farmer during these years. Hence the prospect of securing a quarter section of cheap government land in healthful, productive Iowa was very attractive. And so they sold out, packed their goods in wagons or on boats or trains, and turned their faces westward toward the land beyond the Mississippi.

"The immigration into Iowa the present season is astonishing and unprecedented", ran the account in an Eastern journal in June, 1854. "For miles and miles, day after day, the prairies of Illinois are lined with cattle and wagons, pushing on toward this prosperous State. At a point beyond Peoria, during a single month, seventeen hundred and forty-three wagons had passed, and all for Iowa. Allowing five persons to a wagon, which is a fair average, would give 8715 souls to the population." Commenting on this statement, an Iowa City editor added: "This being but the immigration of the month, and upon one route only out of many, it would not be an unreasonable assertion to say that 50,000 men, women, and children will have come into this State by the first of December, reckoning from the first of September."

At all the principal points along the Mississippi River an almost continuous stream of emigrants was crossing over the ferries into Iowa during the fall and early winter of 1854. Beginning at the north with the three ferries in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien and MacGregor, it was reported that "each of these ferries employs a horse-boat, and is crowded all the time with emigrants for Iowa. Sometimes the emigrants have to encamp near the ferry two or three days to await their

chance of crossing in the order of their arrival. They come in crowds a mile long; they come with wagon-loads of household fixings, with droves of cattle and flocks of sheep — they come from every land that ever sent adventurers westward, and the cry is 'still they come'."

The same situation prevailed at Dubuque where emigrants were arriving daily and almost hourly, and at Davenport where the ferry was kept busy at "all hours in passing over the large canvas-backed wagons" filled with would-be Iowans. At Burlington it was declared that "20,000 immigrants have passed through the city within the last thirty days, and they are still crossing at the rate of 600 and 700 a day . . . . About one team in a hundred is labelled 'Nebraska'; all the rest are marked 'Iowa.' " And even at Keokuk such large numbers of settlers came in by boat that a journalist was led to say that "by the side of this exodus, that of the Israelites becomes an insignificant item, and the greater migrations of later times are scarcely to be mentioned." It was said that one thousand people from Richmond County, Ohio, alone, came to Iowa that fall: while long double-header trains brought into Chicago thousands of home-seekers every week.

The movement was checked temporarily during the coldest winter months, but with the opening of spring in 1855 it began again with full strength, if indeed it did not assume larger proportions than during the previous year. A Chicago paper saw no signs of "subsidence in the immense tide of travel setting westward" in May of that year. "The trains grow longer and fuller and more of them, and the hotels are constantly swarming." It was estimated that more than three thousand people a month made their way over the Galena and Chicago Railroad alone, seeking homes in the fertile lands beyond the Mississippi.

Throughout the summer the invasion continued.

"Seek whatever thoroughfare you may", wrote a traveler in central Iowa in June, "and you will find it lined with emigrant wagons. In many instances large droves of stock of a superior quality are met with. On our last days drive . . . . we met 69 covered wagons seeking a home in the valley of the Des Moines." The report of the General Land Office for the year ending June 30, 1855, indicated that there had been taken up in Iowa during that year more than three million and a quarter acres of public land, which was more than double the amount sold in any other State of this region with the exception of Missouri.

The railroads reaching out to the Mississippi in Illinois had by this time begun to be appreciated at their full worth by westward-moving emigrants. The Galena and Chicago Railroad was largely patronized by those who desired to settle in northern Iowa; while the recently constructed Rock Island and Burlington routes conveyed many others to the "land of promise".

The autumn of 1855 witnessed no appreciable diminishing of the stream of land-hungry settlers pouring into the newer counties of the State. "The National road is again lined with wagons on their way to Iowa, Wisconsin, and other Western States", said an Ohio newspaper. "From the general appearance of the movers, the fine outfits and stock driven in company with the long lines of wagons, it is plain to be seen that Ohio is losing many of her best citizens by this continuous emigration."

"The Immigration to Iowa this season is immense", wrote an Iowa editor in November, "far exceeding the unprecedented immigration of last year, and only to be appreciated by one who travels through the country as we are doing, and finds the roads everywhere lined with movers." At Rock Island, although two steam ferryboats made one hundred trips a day they were unable to handle all the business.

Typical of the difficulty of the home-seekers in securing an opportunity to enter lands at the land-offices was the experience of James Chisnell of Summit County, Ohio. Apparently he had gone out to Iowa late in the winter of 1855, but when he arrived at the Decorah Land Office he found that hundreds of settlers were there before him and had already waited weeks for their turns to enter the land they desired. According to the newspaper account, "the rush was so great that the crowd would fill up the passage way to the office at night and stand on their feet till morning, in order to be first in. Some froze their toes and some their feet waiting for the office to open." Finally, the scheme of drawing numbers for turns was hit upon, and since the land office could attend to only a certain number of purchases per day, those who drew large numbers betook themselves to their homes and returned a month or two later in time to take their turns.

Illustrations of this character might be multiplied almost indefinitely to show how the great tide of emigration spread out over the valleys and prairies of Iowa during the two years from 1854 to 1856. Suffice it to say that these years witnessed an increase of over 190,000 in population, which meant an increase in the density of the population from about six to over nine persons per square mile. The effect of this emigration was felt in all avenues of life, social, economic, religious, and especially in the realm of politics, since it placed Iowa solidly in the ranks of the new Republican States.

Perhaps enough has now been said to indicate the importance of the westward movement in the Upper Mississippi Valley during the fifties, for what was true in Iowa between 1854 and 1856 was true, though perhaps in a less degree, in the neighboring States throughout the decade. By 1860 the Commonwealths bordering the Mississippi had to a large extent passed the frontier stage, and were factors to be reckoned with in the affairs of the nation.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE JACKSONIAN PARTY IN INDIANA

By Logan Esarey

The period from 1820 to 1830 was one of great activity and likewise of great hope in Indiana. All lines of endeavor felt the quickening spirit of the times. The State government was in the hands of a well-educated class of pioneers, not excelled by the old statesmen of the Blue-Grass or by the founders of Ohio. The legal profession was especially strong in a score or so of college-trained men. Men of like education were laying the foundations of the churches. A State Seminary soon to grow into a State University was then in the hands of men bearing academic degrees from the Eastern colleges. The prejudice which sprang up in the thirties and forties against learning and in favor of self-made incapacity was then unknown.

This period in the history of Indiana was one of foundation-making, of organization, of discussion of fundamental principles. The preachers discoursed through successive hours to attentive listeners on abstract questions of theology. Theories of political science were discussed through the columns of the press, and the labored essays printed on the first pages were apparently read. There are many evidences that the pioneers of that day did more real thinking than the people of to-day; though of necessity they were not so well-informed.

During the first decade the people of the State were satisfied with their form of government. The Constitution of 1816 was working well and there seemed little disposition to change it. The General Assembly of 1822 had

authorized a referendum on the question of calling a Constitutional Convention, and the vote at the August election in 1823 had resulted overwhelmingly in the negative. This had occurred in the face of the appeal of at least the Vincennes and Corydon papers. Again in 1824 the question of calling a Constitutional Convention was submitted to a referendum vote. In this election the slavery issue figured largely. The vote as reported was 2,601 for and 11,991 against. In some counties the vote was so overwhelmingly in the negative that it was not counted. The short sessions and meager reports of the early General Assemblies indicate that there was little trouble in the operations of State government.

The State as a whole seemed fairly well pleased with the personnel of its officers. Governor Jonathan Jennings served two terms as chief executive and was then transferred to Congress, where he was allowed to remain until liquor destroyed his usefulness. William Hendricks, after six years in Congress, was made Governor without opposition, but was transferred to the United States Senate before his first term as Governor had expired. General James Noble was retained in his seat in the United States Senate until his death. What is true of the higher officers is just as strikingly true of the subordinates in the State service. Sixteen out of the forty-two members of the Constitutional Convention were returned to the first session of the legislature. At least six more immediately accepted some office under the Constitution. All told, the members of the Constitutional Convention sat for a total of one hundred and fifty-four terms in the legislature, making an average (not counting those in administrative offices) of about four years' service in the General Assembly alone for each member of the Convention. Considering thirty-six, the number of members of the First General Assembly, to have remained the size of the legislature, there would have been an average attendance

of seventeen members of the Convention, which would be almost a majority. Add to these the terms served by the members as Governors, Congressmen, Senators, Judges, and in various branches of the national service, and one begins to realize that offices were fairly monopolized by a small group of politicians. It is clearly not too much to say that they ruled the State during the period from 1816 to 1824.

As stated above, there was little evident attempt on the part of the people to change this condition. This can be accounted for partly by the new conditions which left the settlers little time to devote to politics; partly to a lack of articulation and coöperation, due largely to distance and bad roads between settlements; partly to the fact that the men who made the Constitution, in most cases, were entirely worthy of the power entrusted to them; and partly to the political manipulation of a few expert leaders who devoted their whole time to the political game.

Of the existence of this last condition there is no doubt, but one can not be so sure how much influence to attribute to it. As early as 1816 the *Vincennes Western Sun* accused Jonathan Jennings of playing the boss in selecting the delegates to the Convention. The first election under the Constitution showed the old Vincennes party that it was a hopeless minority. Jennings was instrumental in founding a paper at Vincennes which soon split the opposition there and rendered it completely harmless.

Another evidence of the political handiwork of the Governor, Congressman, and Senator is found in the attitude and editorials of Reuben W. Nelson, editor of the *Corydon Herald*. This paper had been in favor with Governor Posey's administration and evidently had not been received into the confidence of the Jennings administration. It had not only lost the State printing, but

through the efforts of Congressman Hendricks had lost the national as well. Its editor, moreover, had been a candidate for a Federal position and it had supported a local man for Postmaster of Corydon. These prizes were all lost, as the editor believed and as Hendricks acknowledged, through the influence of the men in office. A new paper was founded at the capital whose editor became the Postmaster and State Printer. He held this position as long as Jennings and Hendricks controlled State politics. Still another practice of the office-holders of the young State was singled out by these opponents for condemnation. While the Constitutional Convention was in session, its leaders, James Noble, Jonathan Jennings, and William Hendricks, the Secretary, with others, held a great many consultations in which politics was the continuous theme. It was there decided that Jennings should be the first Governor, Hendricks should go to Congress, and Noble to the Senate.[1]

There are other traces of this early caucus. The Constitution provided that no member of the General Assembly should be eligible to any office, the appointment to which was vested in the General Assembly.[2] But this self-sacrificing prohibition was tempered with the proviso which excepted members of the First Session of the General Assembly from its conditions.

The Supreme Court was made up of three men, one chosen it is said by each of the political leaders. Noble chose Jesse L. Holman; Jennings selected John Johnson; and Hendricks named James Scott. It may be impossible to trace all the ramifications of this organization or to justify all the traditions that have come down to us concerning it, but it is likewise impossible to doubt its existence. On January 7, 1824, Thomas H. Blake introduced a resolution in the Indiana House of Representa-

[1] Smith's *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches* (Cincinnati, 1858).

[2] *Constitution of Indiana*, 1816, Art. 3, Sec. 20.

tives, declaring the Congressional caucus un-American, tyrannical, and dangerous to our government. This was defeated by a vote of 36 to 8.

The Congressional caucus was, however, at this time rapidly falling into bad repute especially among the Western people. They regarded it as a clique of polished Easterners before which no Western candidate could ever have a chance.

This odium the opposition tried to fasten on Jennings especially. In the *Western Sun* for March 29, 1817, there appeared an article by "Vesuvius", who most probably was Editor Stout himself, announcing that a caucus of State officers had met at Corydon and nominated a candidate for Congress. The writer misunderstood the facts concerning the special caucus mentioned, but he voiced in a clear manner the growing feeling against this method of disposing of public offices. As a matter of fact there was enough sentiment aroused against the system to cause the nominee of that caucus to quit the canvass.

Besides this question of the caucus there was another closely akin to it called the "right of instruction". Jeffersonian Republicanism did not recognize the right of constituents to instruct their representatives.

When Reuben W. Nelson of Corydon announced himself as a candidate for Congress against William Hendricks, he said in his platform, published in the *Western Sun* for May 24, 1817:

> I am aware that there is one subject that is deemed, and justly deemed, of primary importance in deciding your choice. The right of instruction. I acknowledge that right, it exists or liberty does not; they are co-existent principles, if the one is disregarded the other is destroyed. . . . On questions of expediency, propriety, and policy the representative is always bound by the will of his constituents.

On December 31, 1818, the General Assembly by joint resolution instructed United States Senators Waller Tay-

lor and James Noble to vote against the Fugitive Slave Law then pending. A careful distinction was made with reference to Congressman Hendricks. He had not been elected by the Assembly and was therefore under no necessity of receiving instructions from that body. The Assembly therefore merely requested him to oppose the offensive measure. In November, 1820, Enoch D. John and Joseph Hanna, members-elect from Franklin County to the General Assembly, sent out handbills calling their constituents into convention for the purpose of framing instructions to guide their course in the Assembly soon to meet. The editor of the *Vincennes Centinel*, a government organ, remarked editorially: "We do not think highly of this mode of legislation. If members are not fit for their stations all the wit of their constituents can not make them so in so short a time. We might just as well send our instructions on pack-horses."

The election of 1820 passed in Indiana without creating any excitement. No poll was held, and it might be said with truth that Indiana was ignorant of the fact that Monroe was a candidate for reëlection. The General Assembly in due time appointed the proper number of electors, who in a perfunctory way cast the vote of the State for the only candidate in the field.

As the election of 1824 approached, this serene atmosphere disappeared. National politics and presidential candidates began to entangle the Indiana machine in their toils. Secretary William H. Crawford was perhaps the first to cultivate the Indiana field. He was interested in controlling the Congressional caucus. He began his operations in Indiana by designating the banks of the State as United States depositories. This was done at the expressed wish of Noble, Hendricks, and Jennings. The two banks named were the State Bank, with its headquarters at Vincennes and branches at Brookville, the home of Noble, at Vevay, and at Corydon, the capital; and

the independent Farmer's and Mechanic's Bank at Madison, the home of Hendricks. These banks had wide commercial and political affiliations over the State. Had the banks prospered no doubt Crawford would have received the support of the State, but the failure of the State Bank carrying with it its branches and a loss to its stockholders of over $200,000 was the first serious blow to the prestige of the Indiana organization.[3]

Jennings and Hendricks promptly disavowed all responsibility and stood from under the wreck; but Noble, who was more generous and warm-hearted, stood by Crawford to the last. The opposition had fought the State Bank at every point and now received as recruits the larger number of those who had suffered from the bank failures. Since 1811 Jackson had been opposed to State and National banks. His view, which had been unpopular up to this time, was now vindicated in the eyes of the Indiana settlers. What might, by some stretch of the term, have been called the moneyed class had been interested in the banks, and the new political division line in general coincided with the line between the debtor and the wealthier class. The former class was frequently called the "yeomanry" by candidates and politicians, while the latter class was as frequently referred to as the "traders".

The opposition party in State politics during the period from 1816 to 1824 was handicapped by the lack of a good candidate. Posey, Christopher Harrison, and others had been tried but no one had been found who was able to crystallize the various opposing factions into a party.

During the summer of 1819 President Monroe made a tour of the West. On his trip up the Ohio he was ac-

[3] Esarey's *State Banks and Banking in Indiana, 1814-1872*. The political maneuvers of Crawford are shown in the Congressional investigation of 1824.

companied by General Jackson and his staff. These distinguished visitors stopped at Jeffersonville, and after a banquet at that place rode out to Corydon. The gallant bearing of the old General easily made him the center of attraction. The newspapers of the time not only gave full accounts of the presidential visit and the numerous receptions and banquets but added a great many stories and anecdotes of Jackson's life. Jackson at that time was not thought of as a presidential possibility, so every editor felt entirely free to praise him without stint. For some time Jackson stories were the features for the Indiana newspapers. Governor Jennings outdid all others in acts of hospitality. He did it the more gracefully because of his own genial nature and his honest admiration for the man.

It was the custom in the General Assembly during this period to hold a caucus some time during the latter part of the session and discuss political matters. Plans for the forthcoming campaign were always laid and candidates were usually named. In later years when parties were more pronounced, this caucus issued an address to the voters which served as a platform. It is probable that a meeting of this kind named the Adams and Clay electors in 1824. At any rate they were named early in the year, early enough to appear in *Niles' Register* for May 22, 1824. The Adams electors were Judges James Scott, Jesse L. Holman, and Isaac Blackford — all members of the Supreme Court — ex-Lieutenant Governor Christopher Harrison, and David H. Maxwell, late Speaker of the House. These, it will be noticed, were officers of the State and leading men in the group of politicians who had been conducting the State government since its organization. Scott and Maxwell had sat in the Constitutional Convention.

In commenting on these electors and on the candidacy of Adams, the *Western Sun* for July 24th said:

"The chief objections to Adams are, 1 He is still at heart a Federalist, 2 He is opposed to a tariff and to Internal Improvement, 3 He is not a Democratic Republican, 4 He should be made to promise to raise the tariff and to acknowledge that the constitution permits Internal Improvements." This was, to say the least, a strange commentary in the light of later history. It may be said at once, however, that Jackson was considered a "good tariff and Internal Improvement man" in all three of his campaigns in Indiana. Any intimation that he was not sound on both of these issues would have been resented by his Indiana friends.

The friends of Jackson had trouble in getting together. Scarcely one of them held office. There was only one newspaper in the State, the *Western Sun* of Vincennes, that was outspoken for Jackson and to it and its editor, Elihu Stout, fell the task of organizing the Jackson campaign. On July 31st, Editor Stout outlined a plan of organization. He asked that those interested in the candidacy of Jackson should meet in County Conventions in their respective county seats for the purpose of appointing County Committees to be known as Committees of Correspondence. The County Committee was directed to call township meetings which in turn should select Township Vigilance Committees. It was the duty of these last named Committees to spread political intelligence, keep the Committees of Correspondence informed, and above all to get the voters to the polls on election day. The County or Correspondence Committees were further directed to select delegates to a general State Convention. These county delegates were directed to meet at Salem on September 16, 1824, and organize the State campaign.

On August 21, 1824, an unsigned notice appeared at the head of the editorial column of the *Western Sun*, advising all persons friendly to the election of General Jackson to meet at the Knox County Court-house in Vin-

cennes on Saturday, August 28th, for the purpose of appointing delegates to a State Convention. The authority for this call is not stated, but from the tenor of the editorials and the whole conduct of the paper, there can be no doubt that Editor Elihu Stout was a leader in the movement. No doubt he was ably assisted by Samuel Judah, a young man fresh from Rutger's College. The fact that Stout had enjoyed the acquaintance of Jackson many years before while a printer in Nashville will account for his intense personal interest in the Jackson campaign.

A Jackson Convention had been held at Princeton on August 17th. David Robb and Thomas J. Evans were the leading agents in Gibson County. Together with William Harrington, the delegate to the State Convention, they constituted the County Committee of Correspondence. There is evidence that this was among the first County Conventions in the State — perhaps the very first. In a series of resolutions, those present pledged themselves to support Jackson, to establish a Jackson organization headed by a Vigilance Committee in each township, to urge the friends of Jackson in other counties by correspondence, and to have their proceedings published in the *Western Sun* and in the *Evansville Gazette*. The County Committee was instructed to appoint the Township Committees.

It is not worth while to undertake a discussion of other county meetings. About the same program was carried out in all. There was the usual pledge of loyalty to Jackson, the County Committee of three, the demand for township organization, and the appointment of delegates to the State Convention, in number equal to the number of representatives from the county in the popular branch of the General Assembly.

The State Convention assembled on September 16, 1824, at the Court-house at Salem. There seem to have been seventeen delegates present, representing thirteen

counties. Including the three counties just organized, there were then fifty-one counties which were entitled to send delegates. Three-fourths of the counties were not represented. Only the neighboring counties sent delegates. There were no delegates from the Whitewater Valley or from the central part of the State. Dearborn and Wayne counties both voted strong for Jackson, but were not represented in the Convention. It seems beyond question that distance more than any other factor determined the attendance.

Samuel Milroy, a farmer, flatboatman, and politician from Salem, was chosen Chairman. He had served in the Constitutional Convention, and had sat in every session of the General Assembly which had convened since the State government was organized. He was a member of the State Senate at the time, a position he resigned the next year in order to make the race for the Lieutenant-Governorship. Aside from Milroy, there was no politician of experience in the Convention. Such members as Dr. I. T. Canby of Madison, Samuel Carr of Jeffersonville, Samuel Judah of Vincennes, and John Ketcham of Bloomington became well-known politicians later, but the delegates who gathered at this first State Convention could not be classed as politicians at that time.

The proceedings of the Convention were simple. There was no speech-making. An electoral ticket was chosen by resolution. David Robb of Princeton, a member of the Constitutional Convention and for many years afterwards a member of the General Assembly, Samuel Milroy of Salem, Elias McNamee of Vincennes, John Carr of Clark County, later a Congressman for many years, and Jonathan McCarty of Connersville, later also a member of Congress, composed this ticket. There were no brilliant men on it, but all were solid, substantial citizens.

A Committee composed of Samuel Judah of Vin-

cennes, Dr. Israel T. Canby of Madison, and Henry S. Handy also of Madison, was appointed to draft a platform, or, as they termed it, "An Address to the People of the State of Indiana". This address was an eulogy on General Jackson. There was little reference to political parties or to political principles. Their hero was pictured as a Caesar or a Napoleon, without the faults of these leaders and with the virtues of Washington.

The Convention voted to send out five hundred copies of this address as campaign literature. Dr. Canby, Samuel Beach of Jeffersonville, and Jesse B. Durham of Jackson County were constituted a State Central Committee with power to fill any vacancies that might appear on the electoral ticket. Three thousand ballots containing the names of the electoral candidates were ordered printed and a pressing invitation was sent to Jackson men in all the counties, urging them to organize for the election. This was one of the first regular State Nominating Conventions ever held in America.

There is no evidence of any stump-speaking during this campaign. In fact no indication of any political activity has come down except a few semi-partisan editorials and reports of numerous straw votes at muster day meetings. For example, at a meeting in Indianapolis in the latter part of August there were 158 Clay men, 2 Adams men, and 2 Jackson men. At the meeting of the militia of Franklin Township, Washington County, there were 88 Jackson men out of 132 present. A similar test in Richmond showed 110 for John Q. Adams, 37 for Jackson, and 8 for Clay; in Spencer the result was 57 for Jackson, 42 for Clay, and 9 for Adams; and at Lawrenceburg the vote was 305 for Jackson, 90 for Clay, and 70 for Adams. These indicate only one fact, and that is that there was considerable popular interest on the part of men who had previously taken no share in party politics. The results of the election were rather disappointing to

all parties, though the Jackson men polled a convincing plurality. Jackson's total vote was 7,343, Clay's 5,315, and Adams's 3,093. However, the coterie of politicians who had held the State in their grasp since it had been admitted gradually tightened its grip and drifted away from the people.

Many who cheerfully subscribed to the doctrine of "instruction" voted for the candidates of the old Republican party in 1824, but their confidence in that party, the party that stood for government by the leisure class, by men of respectability, was seriously weakened by what the Jackson men in 1825 termed the "rape of the Presidency". "The dawn of that political regeneration, when those who fell with the first Adams rose with the second" was witnessed with something like horror by the Western Republicans.

Samuel Judah wrote, in the second Jackson platform, dated January 8, 1828, as follows: "Taking under consideration all the circumstances attending the last presidential election, we are convinced that in the result of the election, the spirit of the constitution was violated, and the rights of the people trampled upon". He then pointed out, by a comparison of votes, that the clearly expressed preference of the plain people had been ignored by the politicians in the election of Adams. The fact that Jackson had a clear plurality of 47,600 over Adams; that he was the second choice, beyond question in Missouri, Georgia, and Kentucky; that in the nine Western States he had received 68,000 votes as against 21,000 for Adams, were all overlooked by the politicians who controlled the House and thus balked the will of the people.

The Administration men, in a communication in the *Indianapolis Journal*, under date of January 3, 1828, had just set forth their view. "The question", they said, "is not one of instruction but one of dictation. If a representative is bound to comply with the wishes of his con-

stituents, then the people may as well make the laws themselves. If carried out, this would make every man his own legislator. The business of legislators is to lay down good laws for the people, and then force the people to obey. If the will of the people is to be the law, that will do away with the necessity of electing representatives. Legislation will become a hollow mockery.

"In opposition to that spurious kind of democracy which asserts that the representatives in a Republican Government must legislate according to the dictates of their constituents we assert that representatives in the business of legislation have a right derived from God through the election of the people to act as they think will be the most agreeable to the moral law. People elect legislators to do that which they themselves are unfitted to do. Men may judge of the fitness of a law which they are unable themselves to make."

By a comparison of these two statements, one can readily see the wide gulf in political theory between the Jackson and the Administration men. This difference made every Administration man a traitor to true democracy in the eyes of a Jackson man. It made every Jackson man an enemy to republican government in the eyes of an Administration man. It was a bald statement of the difference between Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy.

During the State election of 1825 there seems to have been no political organization. The canvass was not pushed by any candidate except James B. Ray, who perhaps was the first candidate to stump the State. He distinctly disavowed connection with any faction of the old Republican party. He favored a high tariff, internal improvements, and in general voiced the high aspirations of the young Commonwealth. He was supported by all factions without any noticeable political affiliations. The *Indiana Journal* opposed him only on

grounds of personal fitness as compared with his opponent. The *Gazette*, later the Democratic organ of the State, supported Ray but not on political grounds. Judge Isaac Blackford, the unsuccessful candidate for Governor, never became a partisan.

The candidates for Lieutenant-Governor were partisans. Samuel Milroy had taken an active part with the Jackson forces the previous year, while John H. Thompson, the successful candidate, was a pronounced Administration man. The candidates for Congress were careful to avoid any show of preference between the factions.

Following this election there was a lull in politics until the summer of 1827 when the campaign of 1828 opened. During the period, however, there appears for the first time a tendency of the press toward that political bickering which is now characteristic of partisan newspapers. As in 1824, the *Western Sun* took the lead in the political attack. But by 1828 it had a full battery of Jackson newspapers assisting it. Chief of these were the *Lawrenceburg Palladium, Vevay Guest, Salem Annotator*, and *Indianapolis Gazette*. During the year the Secretary of State and General John H. Eaton had been busy subsidizing the press of the country — the former for the Administration by means of legal advertising, and the latter for the Jackson men by furnishing stories of Jackson's campaigns. No party ever made a more masterly use of the press than did the Jacksonians. The party editors played up the picturesque career of their leader with telling effect.

Beginning in the summer of 1827, a series of essays began in the various papers of the State showing an unmistakable hostility toward the office-holders. This antipathy extended also to the business men in the cities. A good example of this is shown in the case of George Kinnard, who made the race for Assemblyman in the Indianapolis district on this platform. Kinnard was a keen ob-

server and a pleasing writer and speaker. He became editor of the *Indiana Democrat*, the leading Democratic paper in the State. He pointed out in his articles in the *Indiana Journal* in an unanswerable way that a small group of politicians monopolized the office-holding of the State. The people, he added, had no chance. It was always one of these politicians against another when election came. It made no difference how the people voted: the politicians won, and the people lost. These politicians stood ready to avow or disavow any political principles. Instead of making their canvass on a definite platform, they affected to do the people's bidding. Their ambition was not so much to administer the government well as to draw the salary and what perquisites could be secured.

There can be no doubt as to the strength of this sentiment in Indiana. Its full force was thrown in favor of Jackson and against Adams, who of all men was open to the charge of professional office-holding.

At the fall militia musters the polling began again. At the New Albany muster there were 196 men for Jackson, and 49 for Adams; at Bedford, 742 for Jackson, and 54 for Adams; the Sullivan Company, 62 in number, was unanimous for Jackson; at Rockville, there were present 297 Jackson men and 155 Adams men; out of 1,000 votes polled at Bloomington, only 28 were for Adams; at the Jackson County muster no one could be found for Adams. The muster rolls of the militia were made up of the young men from the farms.

As a result of the political activity started at the muster-day meetings, it was decided to hold a Jackson State Convention at Indianapolis on the anniversary of the victory at New Orleans. The proposition for such a meeting met with enthusiastic response in all parts of the State. The Jackson sentiment, as gathered from the reports of the meetings, had grown steadily. The pro-

saic Adams had lost ground throughout his administration. His supporters often called themselves "Friends of Internal Improvement and Protection" rather than Adams men or Administration men. The Jackson men met this by calling themselves the "Yeomanry" of the State. The county meetings of Jackson men, held throughout the State in December, followed in form those held in 1824. As usual no extensive organization was effected, and in most instances nothing was done further than appointing delegates to the January meeting.

The Jackson Convention which met in the Hall of Representatives at the State House at Indianapolis was a larger convention than the one held at Salem four years earlier. There were 24 counties represented by 47 delegates. Of these, 37 produced credentials from County Conventions, 10 were members of the General Assembly then in session, and one held a proxy. The credentials were regularly passed upon, and the formal proceedings of the Convention were in strict accordance with parliamentary procedure. The only nominations were those for presidential electors. It was decided to nominate one elector from each judicial circuit. A Committee on Nominations was appointed by the whole Convention, and its report was adopted. A Committee of five, headed by Samuel Judah, was appointed by the chair to draw up a platform. While this Committee was out, the Convention adjourned.

At the next session a Committee was appointed, consisting of two men from each judicial circuit, "to examine and report what measures may be necessary to be adopted by the convention for the purpose of advancing the election of General Andrew Jackson to the Presidency of These United States, and that it be the duty of said committee to report to the convention the names of proper persons to constitute a central committee of correspon-

dence, and such other committees as may be deemed necessary throughout the State." A second Committee of three was chosen "to make arrangements for printing such documents as may be determined upon by the convention."

A third Committee, called "the Committee of General Superintendence", was appointed, "whose duty it shall be to fill any vacancy which may occur on the electoral ticket — to announce the persons who may be selected by the friends of Andrew Jackson in the different States as the candidate for the Vice-Presidency, to adopt such measures as to them may appear necessary and proper, to secure the united coöperation of all friends of the election of Andrew Jackson, throughout the State, in the support of the principles for which we contend, to insure the circulation of correct intelligence among our friends in every county, and to provide funds necessary to defray such expenses as may be incurred; and to adopt or recommend such measures as to them may appear expedient."

The meeting place of this Committee was to be at Salem, and its first meeting was set for February 22, 1828. It had power to fill vacancies in its own membership. Five members constituted a quorum. Their address to the citizens of Indiana laid down the following definite lines, along which the party proposed to move:

1. They feared the return of the government to federalistic policies.

2. They denounced the recent election of John Q. Adams as a theft of the Presidency.

3. They declared that Mr. Adams favored an aristocracy.

4. They declared that Mr. Adams had consistently opposed all measures designed to aid in the development of the West.

5. They held that Jackson more than Adams was the sincere and zealous friend of internal improvements and domestic manufactures.

6. They were opposed to the line of safe precedents, and thought that it was highly necessary for the permanency of our institutions, and for the preservation of our liberties, to break in upon the custom of electing the Secretary of State to the Presidency.

"The friends of the administration claim to themselves the credit of being the supporters of the American System and use every effort to fasten upon their opponents, and upon General Jackson the imputation of being opposed to Internal Improvements and Domestic Manufactures. In behalf of our constituents, in the name of the Democratic Republicans of the State, we assert our unhesitating determination to support the friends of the country and the constitution, in the encouragement and protection of the National Industry, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial, in the development of the resources of the country, and in all their efforts for its general improvement; and such we believe to be the general opinions of Andrew Jackson."

The contest that followed was long and acrimonious. The Administration forces were in charge of all the governmental machinery, both State and national. The campaign was carried on by the newspapers and by personal solicitation. The lives of the two presidential candidates were pretty well scanned by the partisan editors and their numerous correspondents. Jackson ranged all the way from the worthy heir to the mantle of Washington down to an "ignorant Blunderbuss". Adams was rated as a high-minded patriot or an unprincipled coat-tail-swinger, according to the politics of the writer. These personalities, one may be sure, filled the bulk of the newspapers, and were the theme of most of the private discussion among the voters. In reality they were

but straws on the current which was running broad, deep, and swift. It was carrying the nation irresistibly toward a purer democracy. The Jackson men found many barriers in the way of this movement. Adams, they claimed, was a born aristocrat. His training in the courts and colleges of the East had deprived him of his sympathy for the uncultivated toiling millions. His cold impartial nature had no touch of that hearty humanity which was then appearing in the new spirit of the West. He not only taught but he embodied the doctrine of an office-holding aristocracy.

These were not the worst charges brought against Adams. It was asserted that he had always opposed the interests of the West. Especially had this been the case at the Treaty of Ghent. Although many of these accusations were unjust, they appealed with great force to the Indiana voter, who for the first time was beginning to realize his position and interests as a Western man. Even the recent tariff law was brought in as an argument against the Administration. Its high rates on articles manufactured in New England were contrasted with the low rates on hemp, wool, and distilled liquors — articles produced by Western farmers. The Jacksonians thought they saw, through the austere Puritanic mask of the President, the cunning face of the Yankee on the alert for bargains.

As noticed several times before, this campaign took on the nature of a struggle between the office-holders and the non-office-holders. The Administration leaders, the candidates on their electoral ticket, the newspapers that urged their cause were all living on the public patronage and many had been for the last twelve years. The only answer that could be made to this attack was that the present office-holders held their positions on account of their special fitness for the work. The continuance in office was due to the fact that experience made them bet-

ter officers and that their constituents, having tried them, felt more confidence in their ability and integrity. Political scientists have conceded some value to these arguments, but to the Jacksonian of 1828 they were the cheapest kind of special pleading. How did the grouchy old squire, postmaster, or land officer know that some brisk young man would not do his duty quite as well, it was demanded. Besides this argument implied the existence of a class of social superiors, and this was not a pleasant thought to the Jacksonian Democrat. It was in this sense that the Jackson men invoked the "Spirit of '76". The office-holders were referred to as Tories, and as Federalists. Adams was accused of saying he preferred the English form of government to the American. The prejudice against the British was still strong in the West. Jackson, who had twice aided in driving them out, was now called upon a third time to overthrow these disguised British.

Closely allied to the war on the office-holding aristocracy was the demand in the West for a wider participation in the government by the people. The pioneers had organized their own State and county governments, and there appeared nothing mysterious or superhuman in the work. So long as the talk was of Virginia planters with coaches and outriders, with trains of servants in livery, there was something of majesty to overawe the uncultured backwoodsmen. But the men who made the Indiana Constitution and administered the State government were no uncommon mortals. They were like unto their neighbors in all observable features; then why should they be thus and forever exalted while the great mass of the population was doomed to remain "hewers of wood and drawers of water"? The younger men in the Jackson party largely refused to accept this theory of government. This phase of the Jacksonian revolution has often been misinterpreted as a scramble

for the emoluments of office. Many men were attracted to the movement by the chance of holding office, but there were quite as many who, if the office-holding had been their leading motive, would certainly have remained with the Administration men. The force of the attack was directed against the Jeffersonian idea of an office-holding aristocracy. It was this, they pompously stated, that would subvert their liberties and overthrow the Republic.

Of almost equal importance, when measured by its far-reaching effects, was the political organization of the party. The men who gathered at Salem in 1824 and at Indianapolis in 1828 were undoubtedly pioneers in the art of party organization. I have failed to find any account of an earlier political machine. In the spring and fall of 1824, they took polls of the voters on muster day. They chose in a regular manner a County Committee as a medium of communication between voters and candidates. They selected regular Township Committees to visit the individual voters, get them out on election day, attend the polling places, and raise funds for necessary expenses. Regularly selected county delegates met in State Convention and produced their credentials before a properly constituted Credentials Committee. This Convention nominated State electors, chose a State Committee, provided for a publicity campaign, drew up a platform of principles, and did those things which State conventions have been accustomed to do since that time. Details have been changed from time to time. County representation has been changed from the number of representatives in the General Assembly to a number based on the voting strength of the party in the county. The Committee of Correspondence has become the County Central Committee; the Vigilance Committeeman is now a Precinct Committeeman. A regular polling officer now does the work then done by the militia officer or the township lister. But the essential features — the State,

County, and Township Committees, the Delegate Conventions, the party platform, the collection and disbursement of campaign funds, the press bureau, the distribution of literature, the franking of the *Congressional Record* as campaign documents — in brief, the political machine remains as originally planned and operated in Indiana during the campaigns of 1824 and 1828.

This matter of political organization was not an isolated or abnormal phenomenon in Indiana. The decade from 1820 to 1830 in Indiana was a period of great activity in the matter of organization in various lines. State organizations of the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches were effected, though there had been churches of these denominations in the State for many years.

The State government was settled at Indianapolis and placed on a working basis. The State College at the head of a State school system was organized. The judicial system of the State was simplified and systematized, county business was reorganized, and the work of the General Assembly made to accord in some measure with general rules.

The industrial activities of the State began to take on system. Organizations of farmers, doctors, and editors were discussed and in some cases perfected. Every line of social activity felt the influence of constructive thought. The strength of the Jackson party, in great measure, lay in the fact that it embodied this progressive organizing spirit, and its success in the elections should be very largely attributed to its careful organization and military discipline.

In conclusion, the Jackson party in Indiana took advantage of the new Western spirit, born of the feeling that the West was not receiving full consideration at the hands of the national government; it sought a wider participation in the administration by the common citi-

zens; it rebelled against the thought of an official class growing up and holding the offices as of right; it demanded of its servants a more scrupulous regard for the opinions and instructions of the people as expressed in conventions and elections; it denounced the Congressional caucus and the stealing of the Presidency in 1825 as treason to republican government; in a word, it was a movement for the reform of political institutions rather than a demand for a change of governmental policy.

THE VERENDRYE PLATE

By Doane Robinson

On February 16th, 1913, a mild winter day, a party of school children were playing upon the first considerable eminence near the bank of the Missouri River, above the mouth of the Bad or Teton River. The eminence referred to is within the limits of the city of Fort Pierre, South Dakota. Harriet Foster, a girl fourteen years of age, observing a bit of metal protruding from the earth, placed the toe of her shoe under it and pried it out of its resting place. Her companion, George O'Reilly, a lad of fifteen years, observing something written upon the metal, picked it up and carried it to his father.

Thus was discovered after a period of one hundred and seventy years the plate deposited by the Verendrye brothers on March 30, 1743, as evidence of their taking possession of all of the region west of the Mississippi for the King of France.

The Verendrye plate is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness and upon the obverse bears this inscription in Latin:

Anno XXVI Regni Lvdovici XV Prorege
Illvstrissimo Domino Domino Marchione
De Beauharnois M D CC XXXXI
Petrvs Gavltier De Laverendrie Posvit

These lines, freely translated, would read:

[This plate was] deposited in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Louis XV, for the King and the most illustrious Lord, Marquis de Beauharnois, in the year 1741, [by] Pierre Gaultier de La Verendrie.

Moreover, it would seem that the plate had been pre-

pared for deposit before the party left Canada, that owing to delays upon the way it had not been used, by several years, as soon as had been expected, and that the elder Verendrye had been disappointed in himself not making the claim of the region.

On the reverse the plate bears this inscription rudely scratched with the point of a knife:

Pose parle
Che valyet de Lar
to st Louy La Londette
A Miotte
Le 30 de Mars 1743

These lines, freely translated, would read:

Deposited by Chevalier de La Verendrye,
Touissant Louis La Londette,
A Miotte,
The 30th of March 1743

At all events this is the rendering of M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador. Other French scholars have interpreted the abbreviations in the third line of the inscription to be a contraction of *temoin*, a word signifying witness. Personally I have a conviction that it in some way designates Louis Verendrye, the youngest son of the explorer. Benjamin Sulté has been unable to identify either Londette or Miotte among the habitant families of Canada.[1]

Even of greater interest than the finding of the plate

[1] Since the foregoing was written, Dr. Benjamin Sulté, together with Mr. DeLand and the writer, have adopted the view first suggested by Dr. Louise Kellogg of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, that the abbreviations in the third line of the French inscription above are "Lo Jos." and stand for "Louis Joseph". Mr. Sulté has found a habitant family named "LaLonde", one member of which was in the West at the time of the expedition of 1742, and he suggests that LaLondette is LaLonde plus the diminutive "ette". As to "A Miotte" Mr. Sulte says: "A. Miotte may easily be Amiot, Amyot, or Amyotte, the name of a Quebec family anobile par Louis XIV, and always notable. One of them, Jean, was a merchant of Quebec in those days."

itself are the regions explored by the young men west of the Missouri; and so in this connection I will hastily review their journey of 1742-1743.

In the spring of 1742 Pierre Verendrye, the elder, found himself for the second time at Fort La Reine (the present site of the city of Portage La Prairie, Manitoba) for the purpose of pursuing his explorations to the Pacific, by way of the Mandans, whom he had visited four years before. For some reason — perhaps ill health — he did not start on the trip but dispatched his third son, Francois (known as the Chevalier), who was accompanied by his youngest brother, Louis-Joseph, and two Frenchmen. It has been generally assumed that the second son (the oldest living), Pierre, was the Chevalier who led this expedition; but Messrs. Jusserand, Sulté and Lawrence J. Burpee are fully agreed that Francois was the Chevalier, and that he was accompanied by his younger brother, Louis. They were respectively twenty-eight and twenty-six years of age. It is supposed that one of the Frenchmen who accompanied them was identical with the man left by Verendrye with the Mandans to learn that language in the winter of 1738-1739.

The party left Fort La Reine on April 29, 1742, and arrived at the Mandan villages on the 19th day of May. The journal is quite indefinite as to the location of the Mandans at that time. It may have been at the village on the bow of the Mouse, or at the villages near the mouth of Knife River, or at some of the older villages further south. However that may be — and I am of the opinion that it was at some villages upon the Missouri near the mouth of Heart River — they remained with the Mandans until July 23rd, when with two Mandans for guides they set out to the west-southwest for twenty days. Then they went into camp where they remained until the middle of September. The location of this camp is not now known. En route to it they "noticed in many places soils

of different colors, as azure, a sort of vermillion, grass green, shining black, as white as chalk and also the color of ochre." The determination of the route may be assisted by this description of the soils. Most writers have assumed that these vari-colored soils were, of course, found in the Bad Lands of the Little Missouri. But it is not necessary to locate these soils so far west; and, indeed, I do not think that the party did at any time go so far west as the Little Missouri.

Lewis and Clark found the remains of three Mandan villages between a point twenty-five miles above the Cannon Ball and ten miles above the Heart River. These ruins were in such a state as to indicate that no great period had elapsed since their abandonment. This leads me to suggest the probability of the Verendryes having left the Mandans, at about the mouth of Heart River, and their having traveled southwesterly upon approximately the same course as that followed by General Custer in his Black Hills expedition of 1873. Dr. N. H. Winchell, geologist of the Custer expedition, notes along the route the same peculiarities of soil mentioned by Verendrye. Indian guides followed devious ways, frequently traveling three miles to gain one in direct advance. In view of the time consumed in travel upon known routes, as from Fort La Reine to the Missouri, and upon the return trip from Fort Pierre to the Mandans, it becomes evident that six miles per day was a fair average of direct advance. Consequently, the first twenty days would place their camp somewhere among the buttes near the south fork of the Cannon Ball or the north fork of the Grand River. While remaining in this camp from the 11th of August to the middle of September they dismissed their guides, who returned to the Missouri. On the 14th of September they discovered the smoke of an Indian camp, and upon the 18th they reached a village of the Beaux Hommes. Although Parkman thinks these were Crows,

I can not bring myself to that view. The Crows spoke a Siouan dialect, and the Verendryes would have recognized it at once. This is true of all the Indians they met west of the Missouri. Each band spoke a language with which the explorers were unfamiliar — that is, they came upon no people of Siouan or Algonkin stock, for with these languages they were entirely familiar.

They tarried with the Beautiful Men twenty-one days, which would carry them over to the 8th of October. Verendrye says it was the 9th of November, but that is evidently an error. They traveled south and southwest several days and came to the Little Foxes. By the 15th of October, having accumulated by the way a second and stronger village of Little Foxes, they came to the Pioya. These people are likewise unidentifiable. Mr. DeLand thinks these may have been Kiowa, but the Kiowas called themselves Ga-i-gwu, from which white men have corrupted the present name. The Verendryes apply a French name to all other bands they met on this trip; but Pioya does not appear to be a French word.

On the 17th they picked up another band of Pioya, and upon the 19th came to a band of Horse Indians. These Parkman thinks were Cheyennes, but he gives no sound reason for the belief. The Horse people were in great distress because of a destructive raid upon them by the Snakes. The Snakes were very brave and not content to simply destroy a village, as was the custom of other savages. They continued a war from spring to autumn. Parkman, Agnes Laut, and other writers have assumed that these Snakes were the Shoshonies of the Pacific Northwest, who formerly ranged further east. For my part I do not think they were. Indeed, so far as I am informed all of the Plains Indians designated their enemies as snakes. Now the sign of enemy and snake were identical. That they designated the tribe that had wrought such havoc upon them as "snakes" in no wise

identifies them. The description of their characteristics given is not at all in harmony with the traits of the Shoshonies. It does, however, precisely apply to another tribe at that period domiciled in the Black Hills, namely, the Kiowas.

They moved along toward the southwest until upon the 18th of November they came to the camp of the People of the Beautiful River. I think this statement suggests a bench mark. The Sioux Indians called the Cheyenne River "Wasta", that is, beautiful. The French called it "Belle", beautiful — adopting the Sioux name. This word still obtains in the name of the North Fork or Belle Fourche. It is reasonable to suppose that the Sioux adopted the name it already bore. It is not improbable, nay it is quite probable, that the Verendryes on November 18th, had reached the Wasta, the Belle, the beautiful river, the Cheyenne, and there found the "People of the Beautiful River". As the narrative indicates, they had not yet come in sight of the mountains, a fact that suggests that they were pretty well east upon the Cheyenne River; for if they were anywhere in the whole course of the Belle Fourche, the Black Hills would have been in sight, though perhaps they would not have recognized them as mountains until within thirty or forty miles of their location. On the 21st they came to the People of the Bow, who were out upon a great war expedition against the aforesaid People of the Snake. The Bows were gathering to them all of the neighboring tribes, to assist in the movement to fall upon and destroy the Snakes in their winter quarters. The Verendryes were invited to join in the enterprise and, having no choice but to do so, went along stipulating that they were to be regarded as non-combatants.

A vast army of more than two thousand warriors had been gathered, and they moved toward the mountains, which were first sighted on January 1, 1743. Until

the 9th of January they moved slowly forward, the warriors bracing their courage with singing and boasting. On the 9th a camp was made, and here the baggage and non-combatants were left. Louis Verendrye remained with this village, but the Chevalier accompanied the war party. Twelve days longer the army proceeded upon its way, with dignified deliberation, but with mighty boastings of what they should do when they arrived. It must have been the 21st day of the month of January when they finally reached the mountains. More time was spent searching out the villages of the enemy.

It would seem that it was as late as February 6th when the scouts returned to inform their general that they had located the chief village of the Snakes and that it had been hastily deserted, as was evidenced by the fact that much valuable equipage had been left behind. This information threw the valiant warriors into the utmost consternation. As they interpreted the situation, the Snakes had discovered their approach and had left their villages to pass around them and fall upon the defenseless non-combatants who had been left behind on January 9th. The Bows beat a hasty retreat, reaching the non-combatant camp on the second day. For twelve days — perhaps twenty-eight days — they had toiled on the way to meet the enemy; but putting all their hearts into the retreat they covered the distance in two days.

A great blizzard fell upon the land, covering it with snow two feet deep and holding the party in the camp until the 14th or 15th of February when they set out southeasterly toward the home settlement of the Bows. On March 1st they learned that the People of the Little Cherry were in the vicinity, and one of the Frenchman was despatched to locate them. The messenger was gone ten days. Whether or not the Bows traveled during his absence is not stated, but the presumption is that they did not. On the 10th of March Verendrye left the Bows

— after directing them to build a fort and plant crops upon a designated stream where the Frenchmen promised to return to them — and went to join Little Cherry. They found the band returning from winter hunting to its principal fort on the Missouri, and two days' travel from their destination; but with the deliberation characteristic of the whole enterprise, they took four days to accomplish the two days' march.

They arrived at the fort of the Little Cherry People on March 19th. This post, as we now know, was located on the bank of the Missouri at the mouth of Bad River, and the Little Cherry People were Arikara Indians, who for a very long time had resided in that region. There on March 30th the famous plate was planted, and on April 2nd Verendrye, with his horses in good condition, and accompanied only by his brother, the two Frenchmen, and three Arikara guides, set out for the Mandans, a distance of two hundred and seventy-seven miles by the convolutions of the Missouri River. They were forty-seven days on the road — that is, they traveled at the rate of something less than six miles a day. From the Mandans to Fort La Reine they traveled forty-six days, arriving at the latter post on July 2, 1743. From the Chevalier's report of this expedition, of which the above is a brief abstract, and after careful consideration of all of the circumstances narrated and of known contemporaneous conditions, I have reached the following conclusions:

First. That the party of 1742-1743 consisted of Francois and Louis-Joseph Verendrye, Toussaint Louis La Londette, and A. Miotte. Perhaps Louis La Londette and Louis Verendrye were identical, in which case there was another unnamed Frenchman in the party.[2]

Second. They left the vicinity of the mouth of Heart River on July 23, 1742, and traveled southwesterly

[2] See Note 1 on p. 245.

along the approximate line of the trail followed by Custer upon his Black Hills expedition of 1873, as far as the Cannon Ball, where they remained until the middle of September. From that time until early winter the time was passed in visiting various Indian camps in the vicinity. The narrative speaks of eight such camps or villages visited.

Third. Verendrye's statements that they traveled constantly toward the southwest must be taken as generalizations. The report was written months after the event from very meagre notes. It can not be assumed that eight villages were successively located upon a direct southwesterly course. Observation and experience justify the assumption that to reach these villages they traveled back and forth, from east to west, though the general trend may have been southwesterly.

Fourth. That it was near the forks of the Cheyenne where they joined the war party. That the non-combatant camp of January 9th to February 14th was located somewhere midway between the forks of the Cheyenne and the Black Hills. That Bear Butte would be the first mountain seen from the prairie and perhaps marks the point where they entered the mountains.

Fifth. That the Indians visited west of the Missouri — with the possible exception of the Beaux Hommes — were various bands of Arikara and Pawnee, who at that period certainly occupied the region west of the Missouri from the Mandans to the upper Platte and west to the Black Hills.

Sixth. That the people of the Serpent were the Kiowas, a fierce and relentless tribe, at that time residing in the Black Hills and the hereditary enemies of the Arikara and Pawnee.

Seventh. That the allied Caddoans should engage in a winter campaign against these enemies was the natural thing for them to do. That, as Parkman and others

suggest, these Missouri River Indians should have passed around the Kiowas, to engage a more distant tribe, and then should have returned home, without molestation, directly through the heart of the Kiowa country is altogether improbable.

Eighth. That in view of the rate at which the Verendryes traveled upon known routes, as well as what we know of Indian practices in moving across country, it would have been impossible for the Verendryes, on February 14th, to have been at any point more remote from the Missouri River than the Black Hills of western South Dakota.

Ninth. That the reasonable motives which would actuate the Indians then residing on the Missouri and east of the Black Hills, who certainly were the Indians composing the war party, strongly tend to support the above conclusions.

All available material pertaining to the enterprises of the Verendrye family in Western Canada and the United States has been assembled and translated into English, and will be printed in Volume VII of the *South Dakota Historical Collections*, under the editorial direction of Hon. Charles E. DeLand, former President of the State Historical Society, to which material the reader is referred for fuller details.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S MONOPOLY OF THE FUR TRADE AT THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, 1821-1850

By Chester Martin

The conflict between the aims of settlement and the interests of the fur trade is to be traced in Rupert's Land beyond the inception of colonization by Selkirk in 1811. Even the purchase of a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, begun by Selkirk as early as 1808, was not sufficient to win the directorate to an interest in anything but their own dividends from the fur trade. The Company could not be induced to carry out what Selkirk had been advocating for ten years — a systematic scheme of colonization from the Scottish Highlands. The Superintendent at York Factory "entirely neglected", states a memorandum in the *Correspondence* at St. Mary's Isle, "the instructions which had been given him respecting the formation of a colony at Red River. . . . In these circumstances, Lord Selkirk was induced to make a proposal which met the views of the Directors, viz., to take upon himself the charge of forming the intended settlement on condition of the Company granting him a sufficient extent of land, to afford an indemnification for the expense."[1]

The old directorate thus escaped the responsibility; the officials at Hudson's Bay discovered with dismay that Selkirk's influence was paramount, and that after the grant of Assiniboia to him in 1811, no covert opposition to the settlers, nor direct protest to Selkirk in person, could stay the attempt to establish a colony in the West. Auld,

[1] *Correspondence* in possession of Captain Hope, Vol. I, pp. 13-14.

the Superintendent, sent to London diatribes against the settlers and their "Governor", and ventured even to suggest to Selkirk "that he had been imposed on."[2] The Superintendent was curtly dismissed. The Company's officials were forced, willy-nilly, into conformity with Selkirk's enterprise. Selkirk bound himself and the settlers in an agreement that they "shall not . . . . carry on or establish or attempt to carry on or establish in any part of North America, any Trade or Traffick in or relating to any kind of Furs or Peltry." Such was the beginning of the precautions taken by the Company, to safeguard against the Red River Settlement the monopoly of the fur trade granted in 1670 in the original charter of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The main current of opposition to settlement, however, came through another channel, though it originated, perhaps, near the same source. The Northwest Company of Montreal were convinced that colonization and the fur trade were incompatible; and, having contrived to convince themselves that Selkirk's interests were centered in the fur trade, they concluded that "under the guise and cloak of colonization, he is aiming at and maturing an exterminating blow against their trade."[3] The conflict which involved the destruction of the Settlement in 1815, and the death of Governor Semple and twenty-one of the settlers in 1816, bears upon the subject of this paper only in so far as it shows the inveterate hostility of the North-West Company to colonization, and their conviction that Selkirk's rights of property, claimed and eventually vindicated in Assiniboia, struck at the root of the fur trade in the West.

The coalition of the Hudson's Bay and the North-West companies in 1821 was followed in the same year by the royal license "for the exclusive privilege of trading

[2] *Selkirk Papers*, Canadian Archives, p. 572.

[3] McGillivray to Harvey, June 24, 1815, in *Papers Relating to the Red River Settlement*, 1819, pp. 7-8.

with the Indians in all such parts of North America to the northward and the westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States."[4] Probably Selkirk's indomitable influence alone, down to the day of his death, had prevented the immolation of the Settlement at an earlier date upon the interests of the fur trade. "With respect to giving up the settlement or selling it to the North-West", he stated in almost the last letter he ever wrote, "that is entirely out of the question. I know of no consideration that would induce me to abandon it. I ground this resolution not only on the principle of supporting the settlers whom I have already sent to the place, but also because I consider my character at stake, upon the success of the undertaking, and upon proving that it was neither a wild and visionary scheme, nor a trick to cover sordid plans of aggression."[5]

After the coalition, however, there was none to fill the gap left by Selkirk's death. Even Selkirk's brother-in-law, who had responded with courage to Lady Selkirk's devotion in behalf of her husband, wished the Red River affairs "had been in the Red Sea twenty years ago."[6] Governor Simpson wrote that, unless carefully regulated, the Settlement would "ultimately ruin the trade". "Every Gentleman in the Service, both Hudson's Bay and North-West", he continued, "was unfriendly to the Colony."[7] The old Northwesters still continued "the most rancorous hostility to the settlement."[8]

Thus closed the first stage of colonization. The Settlement was a necessary evil — destined, it seemed, to almost perennial disaster, but so firmly planted almost in the center of the continent that to uproot it would have

[4] *Copies or Extracts of Correspondence Relating to the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 1842, p. 22.

[5] *Correspondence*, St. Mary's Isle, p. 9661a.

[6] *Correspondence*, Vol. V, p. 1028.

[7] Simpson to Colvile, May 20, 1822, in *Selkirk Papers*, p. 7623.

[8] *Selkirk Papers*, p. 7397.

been more hazardous than to let it grow. "The subject of consideration", the Company's instructions state bluntly, "is not how to form a settlement upon the most solid and enlightened system and government; but how to form the best settlement . . . . that the means and funds . . . . and other circumstances relating to the nature and situation of the property will permit." [9]

The second stage, from the coalition in 1821 to the transfer of the Settlement from the Selkirk family back to the Company in 1834, seems to have been dominated on both sides by the determination to make the best of a bad bargain. Despite the frank impatience of Colvile with the blundering mismanagement of petty officials, there is an attempt to be just to the settlers and scrupulously exacting with the fur trade. Colvile wrote frankly to the Governor of Rupert's Land that, however opposed might be the interests of trade and settlement, the Governor and Committee of the Company in London would "not suffer the fur trade to oppose or oppress the Settlement, and if it be attempted, the expence of redressing the evil must and will fall on the fur trade, as in Justice it ought." [10] The attitude of the Company's officials at Red River was, in fact, supercilious rather than hostile. A meeting of Captain Bulger's council — the "grumbling senators" at the Colony Fort — forms the subject of an elaborate caricature by one of the Hudson's Bay men, though Bulger himself seems to have received something more than good-humored toleration.[11] There was a suggestive proposal to add the Company's Chief Factor at Red River and the Roman Catholic Bishop to the membership of the Council. The vindication of the right of the settlers to trade with the Indians for provisions, leather, and horses seems to have been

[9] *Selkirk Papers*, p. 7533.

[10] *Selkirk Papers*, pp. 8148-8149.

[11] *Selkirk Papers*, p. 7623.

the first indication of the coming conflict for free trade in furs. It is suggestive also that as early as 1822 private traders appeared on the American border, and that in the following year a strong police force was organized, as the instructions to Captain Pelly state, "for the protection of the settlers and the stability of the Colony." [12]

The first outcry against the Company seems to have been based upon the trade, not in furs but in ordinary merchandise; and in this instance, at least, the Company can scarcely be considered culpable. Until 1823, in the absence of currency in the Settlement, the "colony stores" were supported by the Selkirk trustees, on a system of credit, at ruinous loss to the family. Even after 1823, these "colony stores" were ill-managed and unsatisfactory. A few of the settlers seized the opportunity of importing goods by the Hudson's Bay ships at £8 per ton, and did a thriving business at the Settlement. There was at first no opposition from the Company; but when the "colony stores" were at length placed upon a sound footing by a staff and a supply of merchandise sufficient to meet the demands of the whole Settlement, the small trader, says Ross, "raised a hue and cry against the Company and accused them of a wish to monopolize all the trade in goods as they did in furs." [13] It would be less than just, as I have suggested, to charge the Company with a desire to "suffer the fur trade to oppress the Settlement." There is evidence that it was the appearance of the private trader on the American border, and the attack upon the jealously guarded monopoly in furs, that forced the Company to adopt their policy of "smoothing" — to use the expressive phrase of that time — the signs of the unruly independence at the Red River Settlement.

The tone of the Company's officials at the Settlement

[12] *Selkirk Papers*, p. 7791.

[13] *Red River Settlement*, p. 157.

underwent a remarkable change after the flood of 1826, though it seems difficult to account for that change altogether on grounds of general contentment and prosperity. "This settlement", wrote Simpson, the Governor of Rupert's Land, in 1829, "is in the most perfect state of tranquillity, 'peace and plenty' may be said to be its motto."[14] Governor Mackenzie of the Settlement wrote, with sudden enthusiasm that suggests a degree of calculation, of the "stacks and laden carts", the corn "rich and flourishing", the "ensemble of landscape perhaps nowhere to be equalled. . . . I beg to congratulate you and all my employers on the prosperous state of the Colony."[15]

There were obvious reasons for concentrating control as far as possible in the hands of the Company. Prosperity at Red River paved the way for the transfer of the Settlement from the Selkirk family to the Hudson's Bay Company. The shrewd officials in Rupert's Land could be relied upon to endorse the measure from the standpoint of the fur trade. After the transfer in 1834, the Council of Assiniboia, under the presidency of the Governor of Rupert's Land, was now under the direct control of the Company. Justices of the peace were appointed and a volunteer corps was organized. Cuthbert Grant, the leader of the Métis at the affray of Seven Oaks, was now Warden of the Plains. It happened that among the chief duties of the magistrates was the enforcement of the monopoly in furs.

The discontent which culminated during this third stage of the Settlement had, in fact, been in evidence for several years before the transfer. As early as 1829, the Métis had united in demanding the removal of the duty of seven and one-half per cent on goods by way of the United States and increased facilities for the trade in

[14] *Selkirk Papers*, p. 8473.

[15] *Selkirk Papers*, p. 8480.

buffalo hides and tallow with Great Britain. The Governor attributed the agitation to a few malcontents, and "smoothed" the movement by moral suasion. The police force at the Settlement, and the rigid control of the trade at Hudson Bay, could have coped with the illicit traffic in furs had the north remained the only channel of trade; but American cattle-drovers and fur traders from the south threatened the monopoly at the border, while the facilities for obtaining goods from the United States enabled the merchants at the Settlement to drive a thriving trade *sub rosa* with the American outposts.

The claims of the Company were enforced with increasing vigor. The private traders were required to make a formal declaration against the traffic in furs; the penalty of refusal was announced to be the opening and examination of the trader's correspondence by way of Hudson Bay. Participation in the illicit fur trade was guarded against even in the titles to the land at the Settlement. Constables, with long poles to explore the recesses of cottage chimneys, exercised the right of search and seizure; at first with vigor and despatch under the vigilant eye of Governor Simpson, but with increasing compunction as public opinion in the Settlement began to declare itself. The magistrates who were to enforce the laws were members of the Council by which the laws were enacted. By intermarriage, by social influence, or by an adroit appeal to private interest, the Company sought to retain its control over the Council of Assiniboia, though the wild life of the Métis on the plains was quick to detect and to act upon the ill-concealed opposition of a few traders at the Settlement to the aggressive measures of the Company. In 1834, one of the Métis, Larocque, had been struck by one of the officials at Fort Garry in punishment for an insult. The demand was made that the officer be dealt with by the assembled Métis. When the Governor refused to comply, the Métis began their war-

dance "like a troop of furies". A deputation, including the Governor, the Sheriff, and the Chief Factor, restored peace in the Settlement only by much argument and a present of a "barrel of rum and a sum of money as an expiation."[16] The Company began to marshal their forces for a conflict. Old Fort Garry was abandoned on the banks of the river. A new fort was built of stone, on higher land, with four bastions provided with loopholes for small guns and musketry. A Recorder of Rupert's Land was appointed to direct the primitive system of justice, and to reinforce the waning power of the magistrates.

The appointment to this position of Adam Thom was a signal for sullen discontent among the Métis. Thom came to Red River with a reputation for hostility against the French-Canadians during the stormy course of the Papineau rebellion in Lower Canada. The absence of professional training in the old system was only more apparent than the presence under the new system of certain conditions which suggested a sinister policy of coercion. The Recorder's tenure of office depended upon the pleasure of the directorate, whose paramount interest was the enforcement of the monopoly in furs; it was taken for granted that the interests of the individual would not predominate over those of the Company. Even Sheriff Ross expresses a doubt as to whether the Recorder "could at all times, be proof against the sin of partiality." Seizures of furs became increasingly frequent; the right of search was carried out with no excess of delicacy. The Métis, both French and English, were driven together by the enforcement of the monopoly. "There is not a man, high or low," wrote the private trader, Andrew McDermot, to Governor Christie, "but says that Mr. Thom is the cause of all the present evil."[17]

[16] *Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson.*

[17] *Red River Correspondence, Confidential,* 1845-6-7, in possession of

In family connection and tradition, the two traders who took the most prominent part against the Company were in fact "Company's men". James Sinclair came of a family that had been identified continuously with the Hudson's Bay Company since 1780. Andrew McDermot had arrived at the Red River Settlement with the party of 1812. As outfitters to the Métis for the buffalo chase, Sinclair and McDermot had exported tallow by way of Hudson Bay; but there is evidence that their activities had extended also to the fur trade itself, not only with the connivance but with what the traders considered to be the instigation of Governor Simpson and Governor Finlayson at the Settlement. The appearance of American traders at Pembina was a sign that in this sphere, at least, competition could serve the interests of the Company. "As God is my judge," wrote McDermot at a later date, "I did nothing at that time, but began with the view of doing what I could for the benefit of the Company."[18] Governor Simpson, he continued, gave him to understand that he "would not see me lose anything by it." Sinclair was even more explicit. "I began to trade furs," he wrote, "with the sanction of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company and continued to do so until June 1845."[19] After a visit of American traders to the Settlement in the autumn of 1844, however, it became evident that the danger from the standpoint of the Company could no longer be dealt with by adroit management and half measures.

The Company determined to stop the traffic at any cost. McDermot and Sinclair were required not only to submit to the regular declaration but to refrain from

C. N. Bell of Winnipeg. I beg to acknowledge my obligation to Dr. Bell for his very kind permission to make use of this interesting letterbook.

[18] November 30, 1845, *Red River Correspondence, Confidential*, 1845-6-7.

[19] Sinclair to Christie, August 25, 1845, in *Red River Correspondence, Confidential*, 1845-6-7.

importing goods by way of the United States, and to give a bond of £1,000 "for the due fulfilment of the above conditions." The Governor at the Settlement advocated the use, as he expressed it to Governor Simpson, of "a variety of indirect but powerful means" against the ringleaders of the free trade — the detention of their goods, the raising of the freight rates, and the refusal to handle their commodities for export. Even these precautions were found to be too late. In 1845, Governor Christie wrote that no "measure whatever of an indirect nature, will now answer our purpose." Petitions were freely circulated. An agent was despatched eastward to carry the agitation to higher quarters. The Governor considered it necessary to warn the Company by special express. A gathering of Métis advocated breaking the gaol. Andrew McDermot, in whose hall the gathering had met, was reproached for complicity in the movement, and indignantly resigned from the Council of Assiniboia. The goods of several traders were altogether refused for export by the Hudson's Bay ships. The question of trade was becoming one of government. The Company, holding its Charter from the Crown, was refusing the most elementary rights under British government in order to enforce their monopoly. The magistrates evinced "a degree of reluctance amounting . . . . to a fixed determination not to adjudicate in cases arising out of illicit fur trafficking." The inefficiency of the police became "notorious and undeniable". The Governor suggested a line of outposts to control the Settlement, and a policy of general seizure in order to cope, as he expressed it, with the "seductive doctrine about equality and Free Trade." Finally he urged the Company to procure "a body of disciplined troops for the purpose of giving still greater effect to our authority."

Fortunately for the Company, the Oregon dispute had already given them an opportunity, of which they

had lost no time in availing themselves. In 1846 Major Crofton with 347 men was sent to Red River "under instructions for the defence of the British settlement."[20] The force promised "to give efficiency", as the Governor wrote, "to all our laws."[21] What with the presence of the troops and the ravages of an epidemic at the Settlement, the free trade in furs came, for a time, abruptly to an end; but when the troops were recalled in 1848, the agitation, pent up for two years by the repressive measures of the Company, broke out anew with increasing violence. An adroit attempt had been made to continue the military domination by a force of fifty-six pensioners in 1848, but the Sayer trial in the following spring was sufficient to destroy once for all the prospect of enforcing the monopoly in furs at the Red River Settlement.

Guillaume Sayer and three other traders were to be tried on May 17th, for illicit traffic in furs. Unfortunately for the Company, the circumstances were such as to invite inevitable defeat. May 17th was Ascension Day and the Métis gathered at St. Boniface. Piling their arms in the churchyard, they attended mass in a body. After the service they were harangued by Louis Riel, father of the insurgent leader of 1869, advocating a demonstration against the Recorder at the Court-house. The chief prisoner was represented by James Sinclair himself. The Métis, within and without the Court-house, announced their determination to take the law into their own hands if the prisoners were not liberated. The issue was made quite unequivocal by the defendant's plea of guilty. It was stated in the evidence, however, that Sayer had received for the occasion verbal permission from a subordinate official of the Company to trade in furs. The pretext was eagerly seized upon by the bench.

[20] Crofton's *Diary*.

[21] Christie to Simpson, April 21, 1846, in *Red River Correspondence, Confidential*, 1845-6-7.

Sayer was dismissed. The case against the other three traders was dropped. The word went out that the monopoly in furs was broken. The Métis returned to St. Boniface, celebrating their victory by the firing of guns and by cheers of exultation. "Le commerce est libre — vive la liberté." The Sayer trial was almost the last occasion on which the Recorder appeared in his official capacity. His return to England in 1854 was an indication that one chapter, at least, in the curious history of the Red River Settlement had come to an end.

THE PLACE OF JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS, IN THE HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST

By Ensley Moore

The State of Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818. Morgan County received its first settlers in 1818, and was organized on the first Monday in March, 1823. Jacksonville, the county seat of Morgan County, which then included Cass and Scott counties, was laid out on March 10, 1825. This last act was, as I shall show, one of the most important in its influence upon the history of the coming State and of the great Northwest. And by Northwest is meant the region north and west of Illinois to the Canadian line and to the Rocky Mountains first, and ultimately to the Pacific Ocean.

The largest early immigration into Illinois and into the Sangamon Country, in which Jacksonville was located, was from the Southern States — notably Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia; and of the brightest, ablest, and most ambitious of these alert Americans, Jacksonville received its full share, its settlers being largely from the South.

Joseph Duncan, from Kentucky, a hero of the War of 1812, and John J. Hardin, also from Kentucky, were two of the most prominent upbuilders of Illinois, of Jacksonville, and of the regions beyond to the north and west. Both were subsequently members of Congress, and the latter was afterward Governor of Illinois. Hardin "gloriously fell on the field of Buena Vista, Mexico", along with his relatives, Colonels Clay and McKee.

In 1825 Jacksonville was like Jerusalem, "Beautiful for situation", and so it yet remains. Its greatest orna-

ment, Illinois College, crowns a hill which commands a magnificent view.

But the Yankee, by which is meant a person from east of the Hudson, or of that ancestry in New York, was not slow in seeing the advantages of Jacksonville, or in helping to improve them. In fact two Kellogg brothers, "New York Yankees", were the first settlers of Morgan County. Then it was a race between natives of the South and of New England. The result was that, up to the time of the Civil War, Jacksonville was about half Southern and half Yankee. The New Englanders were also of the ablest, brightest, and most ambitious of their section; and the battle for the development of a place of potential influence was on.

Our "ancient history" records that Murray McConnell "passed up the Illinois river to Peoria in 1819". He soon returned to what was to be Morgan County, near Jacksonville, and took part as a lawyer in the first meeting of the Circuit Court in Morgan County. Mr. McConnell was born in Orange County, New York, on September 5, 1798, and at the age of fourteen started into the far West to make his fortune.

John Millot Ellis was born in Kene, New Hampshire, on July 14, 1793, of Welsh parentage. Mr. Ellis was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1822. On the day on which he completed his seminary course, he was inspired by Elias Cornelius, an educator of that day, to "build up an institution of learning which should bless the West for all time." Mr. Ellis was graduated from Andover in September, 1825, and in November of that year, after a journey of six weeks, he reached Kaskaskia, then the capital of Illinois and the most important town. "Mr. Ellis was of that type of mind and from that stock of mankind with whom it is an instinct to build colleges", and he was soon interested in plans for the establishment of what was then called a "Seminary" in Illinois.

Mr. Ellis had become a member of the Presbytery of Missouri, which then included Illinois. St. Louis was at that time the largest town near the settled part of Illinois. Few people had then settled north of the present line of the Wabash Railway. Mr. Ellis secured the appointment of a committee of Presbytery, consisting of himself and Elder Thos. Lippincott, afterwards a Presbyterian minister for many years. In January, 1828, they set out on a journey of investigation into the Sangamon Country. Shoal Creek people, near Alton, had already made offers for an institution.

The explorers continued until they came to Jacksonville. At this point "so charming was the landscape, so rich the soil around and so enterprising the people who had settled there, that Mr. Ellis appears to have concluded at once that this was the place for a Seminary in preference to other towns he visited. Within a few days with characteristic promptitude he purchased eighty acres of land and set the stakes for a building". Some money had already been subscribed, and the subscribers approved of the plans. Mr. Ellis then determined to move to Jacksonville in the summer of 1828.

Mr. Ellis was at that time in the employ of the American Home Missionary Society, to which he wrote, in a report under date of September 25, 1828:

> A Seminary of learning is projected to go into operation next Fall. The subscription now stands at $2,000 or $3,000. The site is in this county. The half quarter section purchased for it is certainly the most delightful spot I have ever seen. It is about one mile north of the celebrated Diamond Grove, and overlooks the town and country for several miles around. The object of the Seminary is popular, and it is my deliberate opinion that there never was in our country a more promising opportunity to bestow a few thousand dollars in the cause of education and of missions.

The *Presbytery Reporter*, of Alton, in September, 1859, gives the following account:

Of this letter, as published in the Home Missionary, President Sturtevant says that it arrested the attention of the young men in the Divinity School at Yale College, and led to a correspondence between them and Mr. Ellis, and determined seven of them to a residence in Illinois and to aid in the building up of the College.

Having been sent to a meeting of the General Assembly, Mr. Ellis spent the summer of 1829 in the East. While there, he coöperated with this Yale Band in their efforts to raise ten thousand dollars which they had pledged, and was instrumental in the maturing of their plans. Two of them, Julian M. Sturtevant and Theoron Baldwin, arrived in Jacksonville in November, 1829, and instruction was begun by Mr. Sturtevant, on January 4, 1830, in what is now a part of Beecher Hall. The institution had been organized and named Illinois College, on motion of Judge Hall, an old settler and a trustee. Thus was founded the first great college west of Ohio.

It should be said that Mr. Ellis went on to help found Wabash College, Indiana. He also aided Marshall College, Michigan. After spending some time in the East in preaching, Mr. Ellis died at Nashua, New Hampshire, on August 6, 1855. At the time of his death he was engaged in arranging for a college in Nebraska.

The first class was graduated from Illinois College in 1835, and consisted of Jonathan E. Spilman and Richard Yates. The latter was to be the great War Governor of Illinois. At one time when plans to help the Union cause were under discussion, Lincoln said to his Cabinet: "I have a plan to open the Mississippi river by a man named Grant, which Dick Yates sent me." You may recall that "a man named Grant" did open the Mississippi River, and by that time Richard Yates had sent Lincoln — not Grant's plan alone — but Grant himself. For it was this Kentucky boy, trained in Illinois College, who sent Ulysses S. Grant into the nation's service. After three long

years of war "Dick" Yates's selection took command of all the armies and victory came in one short year. The Republic was saved not alone to the West and Northwest, but to all the American people, and to all mankind. Lincoln knew Yates's fidelity, and he did not trust him in vain.

Illinois College gave to the West scores of ministers who went out to preach "the unsearchable riches of Christ Jesus". Neither Time nor Eternity can measure the yield to these reapers in the "fields white to the harvest". These men not only gave their lives to saving souls in their homeland, but some went as foreign missionaries, and at least one died upon the hot shores of the "Dark Continent". Illinois College also gave to her own State and to some of the Northwest the first physicians educated in their profession within the State.

It was in the class of 1843 that Newton Bateman was graduated. He was destined to be the Nestor of teachers in the State, which in turn gave of her abundance to "the regions lying beyond". Young men and young women sprang full panoplied into the race of life educated for the work. It was not to the State alone that Bateman gave of his ripest years, though he made Knox College a power in the education of the young people of the Northwest. And still earlier than Bateman, Dr. Wm. S. Curtis was prepared for the presidency of Knox College by "Old Illinois".

In the winter of 1832-1833, President Edward Beecher of Illinois College wrote to President Day of Yale, requesting him to send a teacher whom he could recommend as a future professor. Mr. Day said that Jonathan B. Turner was the man, and "Prof. Turner", of "Yale, '33", entered into his labors at Illinois College that year. If Jonathan B. Turner had only given his devotion to learning and his unyielding opposition to hu-

man slavery to the West, it would have been enough. But he discovered the practical use of the osage orange plant and hedged the fields of the West with thousands of miles of fencing. But "the grand old man" was not content with this material contribution to the riches of the West. It was he who through long years of unsuccessful effort kept toiling and speaking and writing until at last the States and nation heard his voice, and the Agricultural College — now called the State University — was created. To-day all the Northwest, as well as the country at large, may thank Illinois College for bringing Jonathan B. Turner into the West, and sending him out to better mankind by the establishment of universities in every State. Out in the cemetery, in "the celebrated Diamond Grove" of Mr. Ellis's day, lie the remains of this American giant who toiled for the millions, and "Turner" is all the name needed to mark the spot.

Women had small chance for education in this region before 1825, but a new day dawned for the women of the West when Frances Brard Ellis, wife of John M. Ellis, began in her own humble home the work of teaching girls and young women. Through her efforts there was organized in 1830 and chartered in 1835 the Jacksonville Female Academy, the first such institution in Illinois. For this woman's school not only the State of Illinois but the West as well must ever be grateful. Tragic beyond words was the death of Mrs. Ellis and her two children in that "cholera year" of 1833. All three died within forty-eight hours of each other.

Dr. Truman O. Douglass, a graduate of Illinois College in 1865, and Secretary of the Congregational Home Missionary work in Iowa from 1882 to 1907, wrote a book a few years ago entitled "Pilgrims of Iowa", in which he refers to his denominational brethren. It is to be remembered that it was through Mr. Ellis's correspondence

that the Yale Band of Illinois came out to the West. Among them was Asa Turner, brother of Professor J. B. Turner, who went first to Quincy, Illinois.

From Douglass's book we have the following: " 'One event', says Mr. Turner in his autobiography, 'occurred that decided my future life. A band of students was formed for the purpose of going to Illinois and planting the institutions of learning and the gospel. I was invited to join them. I did so. J. M. Ellis, who had been sent by the American Home Missionary Society, was trying to plant an institution in Jacksonville. Correspondence with him led us to unite our efforts with his. The result was Illinois College. This shaped the whole course of my life after. The last year in the Seminary was taken up in this effort, and especially in raising means to plant the college'." December 1, 1830, found Mr. Turner ministering to a church in Quincy, Illinois. As early as 1836 he began prospecting in Iowa, and in 1838 he became pastor of the church at Denmark, Iowa, where he continued for thirty years.

Reuben Gaylord came as a tutor to Illinois College in 1834, and remained for two and a half years. He, with six others at Yale, undertook to organize a Yale Band for Iowa. Although his efforts were in vain Gaylord came alone. Gaylord and Turner were the first Congregational ministers who settled in Iowa. Douglass calls these men "Patriarchs" in the church in Iowa. He speaks of Julius A. Reed as the third of these, and says that "he got his first taste of the West in a visit to his brother, Dr. M. N. Reed, of Jacksonville, Illinois". And so the good work went on and Jacksonville did service for Iowa as well as for Illinois.

The influence of good and great ministers is beyond estimate. Illinois College drew to Jacksonville and educated a young Tennessean named Robert W. Patterson. He was graduated in 1837, became a Presbyterian clergy-

man, and as pastor of the Second Church of that denomination in Chicago spent most of a long and influential life. Another young man, who was drawn to Jacksonville by its religious and educational attractions, was the Rev. Truman M. Post, a member of the Faculty for years, and for a still longer period a Congregational pastor in St. Louis. These were men of influence and power in their day.

Jacksonville had in its early citizenship men of fine business foresight and of great commercial activity and capability. Through them was brought about an era of material achievement in the West during the early part of the nineteenth century. They secured or assisted in the building of the first railroad north of the Ohio River and west of Pennsylvania. It was on November 8, 1838, that the first engine ran upon the "Northern Cross" Railroad, now the Wabash, which was opened to Jacksonville in 1839 and to Springfield in 1842. This was the beginning of the railway construction of that portion of the West which lay north of the Ohio River, and it was the means of opening the farther West to settlement and occupation. Chicago had no western railroad until 1849.

Returning to the subject of public education, Governor Joseph Duncan was one of the earliest advocates of this beneficent work. A volume entitled *Common School Advocate* was published in Jacksonville at an early date. This was one of the first such papers in the West, if not the first. It was published by Ensley T. and Calvin Goudy. The inspiration of Jacksonville always influenced the Goudys. William C. and Calvin Goudy, one as State Senator and the other as member of the Lower House, were among the most influential in securing the establishment of the State Normal University.

The men and women of Jacksonville were among the earliest in the West to establish State charitable institutions, and those for the insane, deaf and dumb, and the

blind were among their early accomplishments. The School for the Deaf was in fact a training school for the teachers and superintendents of other Western and Northwestern States.

When Abraham Lincoln appointed the first Governor of Dakota, which then included both North and South Dakota, he chose Dr. William Jayne, a graduate of Illinois College in 1847. In this capacity, Governor Jayne ruled over about four thousand whites and thirty thousand Indians. I am happy to say that the genial old man is still living in Springfield.

Citizens of Jacksonville, former students and graduates of Illinois College, and of the women's schools of Jacksonville, who have gone into the West and Northwest as teachers, are to be numbered by the scores if not by the hundreds. Without effort I call to mind a classmate, Professor R. H. Beggs, in Denver; and another, Professor Carl Gordon, in Spokane. Oakland, California, has a leading teacher from Illinois, and the State University of California has in its faculty a graduate of "Old Illinois".

"Murray McConnell passed up the Illinois in 1819", and afterward became a leading citizen of Jacksonville. He was a member of the legislature, a leading lawyer, a commissioner in building the first railroad which "blazed the track of empire westward", a general of militia, and an Auditor of the United States Treasury under President Pierce. By the help of his vote, Illinois was one of the first States to pass the amendment to the Federal Constitution abolishing slavery. But, in addition to these incidents from the life of General McConnell, he accomplished what was of more important and lasting effect upon the history of the State, of the Northwest, and of the nation. Of this I have written in another connection the following account:

A young man from New York State, but a native of Ver-

mont, came into Jacksonville in the late fall of 1833. Jacksonville was then the guiding star of ambitious men venturing into "the far west". The town had a population of about 1,600 or 1,700 souls. The population of Morgan County — then including Cass and Scott — was about 15,000. The state of Illinois had a population of about 300,000. Among these Stephen A. Douglas came, too small in size and weight to be noticeable. But, even then, strong enough to draw the attention and interest of persons of perception.

There have been many stories told since those faraway days of the first cholera year, of how and where this young stranger went and found friends and a home. But many of the stories are apt to have grown with the development of their hero, the "Little Giant".

The first and kindest and wisest friend that stripling from Vermont found in Illinois was Murray McConnell. By his advice Douglas did the things which eventuated in his becoming a citizen of Jacksonville, an organizer of the Democratic party in Illinois, a secretary of state of Illinois, a member of the legislature from Jacksonville, a judge of the Supreme Court of the state, a member of Congress, a United States Senator, a controller of the national Democratic party, a candidate for President, whereby Abraham Lincoln was elected; and, at last,

> "When war winged its wide desolation,
> And threatened the land to deform",

Stephen A. Douglas, patriot and statesman, no doubt saved Illinois from Civil War within its own borders, and, next to Abraham Lincoln and U. S. Grant, probably did more than any one else to save the Republic. All this came about in part, through the kindly and wise act of Murray McConnell, in befriending a poor young man "in a strange land".

Time and space forbid a longer reference to the splendid things which have resulted from the influence of Jacksonville and of Illinois College. But one can not refrain from calling the attention of this Association to the fact that it was Stephen A. Douglas who valiantly stood against the surrender of our great Northwest, now styled

"The Inland Empire", and the lands beside the far Pacific to the land-grabbing instinct and clutch of Great Britain. It was Stephen A. Douglas who saw the possibilities of the great Middle West, and carved out the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the latter including what is to-day North and South Dakota.

So the humble Christian minister, the ambitious college teacher, and the more ambitious young politician, each contributed a portion of that influence which made Jacksonville largely the Civilizer of the West.

THE HISTORY OF THE SALT INDUSTRY IN WESTERN CANADA

By R. C. Wallace

From the Mackenzie Basin southeastward across the Athabasca River into northwestern Manitoba, and thence along the eastern base of that escarpment of hills which terminates in the Pembina Mountains in North Dakota there stretches a line of salt springs, pouring immense quantities of sodium chloride into the rivers and lakes which the springs feed. These springs are notable features in the landscape, and can not fail to have attracted the attention of the early inhabitants of the country. The traveler comes quite unexpectedly to a bare spot in the forest, circular or oval in shape, half an acre it may be or many acres in extent, and fringed with dark green spruce with a background of lighter green poplar. Within such an area many springs may occur, which may have formed around themselves, volcano-wise, a rim a foot or two in height, due to the deposition partly of material out of solution but mainly of the fine clay which they have carried in suspension from below — for they usually come to the surface through a layer of clay, and only rarely is solid rock to be found in the immediate vicinity. Normally the salt water flows in rivulets from the springs to lake or river, but the surface of the ground is impregnated with salt to such an extent that these areas are absolutely devoid of vegetation. On the high ground, however, and around the margins of the springs the small red salt-loving plant, *salicornia herbacea*, occasionally grows in profusion.

In only a few localities has any considerable thick-

ness of salt been deposited in consequence of the natural evaporation of these brines. One such locality is to be found on the Salt River, a tributary of the Slave River north of Fort Smith. As a rule, in order to obtain salt from the brines, artificial methods of concentration have to be adopted. It is with the historical aspect of this phase of the subject that I wish to deal in this brief paper.

In Canada the process of evaporating these brines for the purpose of obtaining salt was carried on as far back as the early years of the last century and continued until at least 1876. The district which has been the most prominent in connection with the industry is that which was known as the Swan River district, embracing the country west of Lake Winnipegosis, where the springs are most numerous, and where on the whole the concentration of the brines is greatest. The point has been discussed as to whether the Indian had learned the secret of the extraction of salt by the evaporation process before the advent of the white man. Keating[1] in 1825 refers to the claims of the Potawatomie Indians in this regard, in connection with the manufacture of maple sugar, as follows:

> The use of salt previous to the arrival of the European is claimed by the Indians. They trace the origin of their acquaintance with this valuable condiment to the observation of the preference given by elks to the water from salt licks: having tasted it, they liked it, and took some to boil their vegetables with and having found it palatable, they boiled down the water in the manner that they had done the sap, and then obtained salt. It is not improbable, that the sediments of white salt, which are frequently observed during dry seasons in the vicinity of salt springs, may have taught them that it was by evaporation that the substance could be separated from the water which holds it in solution: for although the Indians were totally ignorant of the nature and causes of evaporation, they had noticed

[1] *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's River,* 1828, Vol. I, p. 116.

the process and were aware that it could result from the action of fire as from that of the sun.

While it would seem only reasonable to concede that the Indians, endowed as they are with considerable powers of observation with regard to natural phenomena, would of themselves have reached this deduction, we seem to have, in the Western Canadian territory at all events, no authentic records of the Indians making use of the process prior to the development of the industry by white men. Hind [2] states that forty years before the date when he visited the Monkman's Salt Springs (which was in 1858) James Monkman had started working the springs; while Richardson [3] refers, in 1823, to salt springs at the base of the Pasquia Hills "from which the Indians sometimes procure a considerable quantity of salt by boiling". Still earlier than Hind's reference, Harmon,[4] in one of his visits to the Swan River district between 1800 and 1804, states that a few miles from the Swan River Fort, on the Swan River, "there is a salt spring, by boiling down the waters of which tolerable salt is made. It is less strong than that brought from Canada, but, made in sufficient quantity, it will preserve meat very well". While Harmon does not refer specifically to the point, the inference seems to be that the salt was made, not by the Indians, but by the engagees of the North-West Company, to whom the fort belonged and in whose services Harmon at that time acted as clerk. While, then, the specific evidence of the early records favors the view that in this district the white man has priority, it is altogether probable that at a still earlier date the Indians may have utilized the brines for salt, not on an industrial scale but

[2] Hind's *Saskatchewan and Assiniboine Exploring Expedition* in *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, Vol. XVII, No. 36, p. 94.

[3] Appendix to Franklin's *Journey to the Polar Sea*, p. 506.

[4] Harmon's *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, 1820, p. 57.

for family purposes, without attention being called to it by the traveler of that time.

To this industry belongs the distinction of being the first important development of a mineral product in the Northwest. We can not consider of equal importance the use made of the tar sands on the Athabasca River, where, according to Harmon,[5] the "bitumen, which is in the fluid state, is mixed with gum, or the resinous substance collected from the spruce fir, and is used for gumming canoes". No doubt the natural salt of the Salt River in the Mackenzie Basin was used much more extensively in the early years of last century, and in fact throughout the century. To quote Harmon again,[6] "down Slave River, there are several places, where almost any quantity of excellent clean white salt may be taken, with as much ease as sand along the seashore. From these places the greater part of the northwest is supplied with this valuable article." If the Northwest be taken in its present-day, strict geographical sense as the Mackenzie Basin, his words, written in the early years of the century, still hold to-day. We are concerned more particularly with the evaporation processes of the Swan River district, however, because they represent a more specialized stage in the development of the mineral industry, analogous to the extraction of the metals from their ores. As a commercial industry salt-making was practically from the beginning, and throughout its history, in the hands of the freemen. Mr. Donald Macdonald of Fairford, formerly in charge of the Shoal River post, believes that the first independent manufacturer in the district was Marcette, who extracted salt from brines at the mouth of the Shoal River, Swan Lake, and that the business was subsequently taken up by Chartrand

[5] Harmon's *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, 1820, p. 171.

[6] Harmon's *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, 1820, p. 172.

and Monkman, to whom evaporation kettles were supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company. Monkman carried on operations at Swan River, Duck River, and at Monkman's Salt Springs, Lake Winnipegosis. The freemen evidently extended their field to Lake Manitoba; for Simpson[7] writes in 1836 that "on some of its [Lake Manitoba] tributary streams tolerable salt is obtained by the freemen from saline springs". At that time, also, operations were evidently active at Swan River. Simpson reached the river at a point "close to the tents of some freemen, who subsist by hunting, fishing, and making salt and maple sugar".[8]

In 1858, at the time of Hind's visit, manufacture was carried on "with profit for the Hudson's Bay Company, at Swan River, and at Winnipegosis Lake by Monkman's sons".[9] In 1874, J. Y. Spencer[10] visited Monkman's Springs, and found that Mr. McKay, the only person engaged in the business, made about five hundred bushels, or less than half the quantity which had been manufactured in previous years. Before 1889, when J. B. Tyrrell examined the Winnipegosis district, the industry had ceased, though the Indians occasionally boiled down a little salt from the brines.[11] Mr. Isaac Cowie of Winnipeg informs me that until 1876, at which time he was in charge of the Swan River district, the salt for all the Hudson's Bay Company posts from Norway House to Qu'Appelle was supplied from Lake Winnipegosis. The manufacturers evidently found that it was increasingly difficult to compete with imported English salt, which

[7] Simpson's *Narrative of the Discovery of the West Coast of America*, 1843, p. 31.

[8] Simpson's *Narrative of the Discovery of the West Coast of America*, 1843, p. 63.

[9] Simpson's *Narrative of the Discovery of the West Coast of America*, 1843, p. 94.

[10] *Geological Survey of Canada, Report of Progress*, 1874-1875, p. 69.

[11] *Geological Survey of Canada, Annual Report*, Vol. V, Part I, 1890-1891, p. 220 E.

found a market in the Red River Settlement, and the industry in consequence languished and finally died.

We are indebted to Hind [12] for the following very interesting description of the process of manufacture:

At the works there are two small loghouses and three evaporating furnaces. The kettles, of English construction, are well made rectangular vessels of iron, five feet long, two feet broad, and one foot deep. They are laid upon rough stone walls, about twenty inches apart, which form the furnace. At one extremity is a low chimney. The whole construction is of the rudest description: and at the close of the season the kettles are removed, turned over, and the furnace permitted to go to ruin, to be rebuilt in the following spring.

The process of making salt is as follows: When a spring is found, a well, five feet broad and five feet deep, is excavated, and near to it an evaporating furnace erected. The brine from the wells is ladled into the kettles, and the salt scooped out as it forms, and allowed to remain for a short time to drain before it is packed in birch bark roggins for transportation to Red River, where it commands twelve shillings sterling a bushel, or one hundred weight of flour, or a corresponding quantity of fish, pemmican or buffalo meat, according to circumstances.

The brine is very strong. From one kettle two bushels of salt can be made in one day in dry weather. There are nine kettles at the "works", seven being in constant use during the summer season. The halfbreeds engaged in the manufacture complained of the want of fuel — in other words, of the labour and trouble of cutting down the spruce and poplar near at hand, and the difficulty of hauling it to the furnaces. An objection of no moment, but characteristic of some of the people, who are generally unaccustomed to long continued manual labour. . . . It will be seen that the processes employed in the manufacture of salt are of the rudest description, so that without any outlay beyond a few days' labour, the quantity might be largely increased. I spoke to John Monkman, who now makes salt here, of pumps and solar evaporation. Of a pump he knew absolutely nothing. He had heard that such an apparatus had been

[12] *Geological Survey of Canada, Annual Report*, Vol. V, Part I, 1890-1891, p. 94.

contrived, but had never seen one. He readily comprehended the advantage to be derived from pumping the water into smaller troughs, dug in the retentive clay near the springs, and strengthening the brine by solar evaporation.

It would seem that concentration by freezing was never employed in the Swan River district, though it is stated by residents in Pembina that concentration by freezing was made use of by the Hudson's Bay Company in working the springs near Cashel, North Dakota.

Sufficient information is not available to justify any attempt to estimate, even roughly, the amount of salt that was produced during these years. The minutes of Council of Assiniboia from 1823-1840 show that from fifty to one hundred bushels of salt were bought from the freemen yearly by the Hudson's Bay Company at 7/6 per bushel. Keating [13] states that in the Pembina district, where, he avers, the salt was gathered from the white precipitates around the springs on the Big and Little Saline rivers, the price of the salt was four to six dollars per barrel of eighty pounds, and that one of the residents cleared five hundred dollars in one winter by the salt which he collected. From the statement of Spencer, already quoted, it would appear that in the years prior to 1874 more than one thousand bushels a year had been manufactured at Monkman's Springs. The salt was put into birchbark boxes, called "mococks", each holding one hundred pounds and was exported to the various Hudson's Bay Company posts and to the Red River Settlement. The product was decidedly unprepossessing in appearance, being characterized by a distinctly reddish color, and, judging from the chemical analysis of the brine and from its method of manufacture, it must have had as impurities considerable percentages of deliquescent salts. In fact, Keating states [14] that during his stay at Fort Alexander he inquired why salting was not

[13] *Geological Survey of Canada*, Vol. II, p. 36.

[14] *Geological Survey of Canada*, Vol. II, p. 82.

usually resorted to instead of the jerking of the meat. "We were informed that the prairie salt did not preserve flesh as well as that which was brought from England, with which the buffalo of which we had eaten had been cured. It is probable that in the salt of the prairies there are impurities, perhaps deliquescent salts, which render it unfit for the preservation of meat unless purified." Those of the residents of the Red River Settlement during the seventies, however, who still survive in Winnipeg, do not recall any feeling of dissatisfaction with the salt which was supplied to the colony from the Swan River district.

It may be of interest to discuss in conclusion the possibilities of a revival of the industry. In the Lake Winnipegosis district, more particularly on the west side of Dawson Bay, where the springs are most numerous, the total flow from a single salt flat is usually from ten to twenty gallons per minute. The percentage of total salts is five to six per cent, or only about one-fourth the strength of most of the brine used — for instance, in Michigan. It seems clear that, notwithstanding the fact that the total amount of salt which reaches the surface is very large, the economic situation of to-day will render impossible the revival of a salt industry in this district, if the springs alone are to be used, as was the case during the last century. From recent evidences obtained from deep wells, however, it has been shown that a strong brine may be obtained at greater depths — with which the surface springs may be connected but have been weakened owing to admixture with the waters of the upper levels of the ground-water table. At the present time, then, it seems not improbable that, by tapping the mineral near its source, the difficulties due to competition from other fields, which were practically non-existent in the early years of the industry, may be successfully coped with; and there may be revived an industry which has at least a historic inter-

est as a forerunner of the mineral development which already plays an important part, and in the days to come will aid still more materially, in the stability and progress of the Canadian West.

AMERICAN OPINIONS REGARDING THE WEST, 1778-1783

By Paul C. Phillips

What shall be the extent of the United States? This question assailed the new republic the moment independence was proclaimed, and it inaugurated one of the bitterest contests brought forth by the Revolutionary movement. It might appear that the new nation was born with the longing for expansion, for soon after the Declaration of Independence Congress declared its intention to annex all British America to the United States.[1] It appears probable, however, that this resolution was born of the enthusiasm of the moment, and was the expression of a wish rather than of an actual policy. It was of political importance also as it promised to every section of the country the realization of its fondest ambitions. There were probably few men in the United States who believed such an empire possible,[2] and later events were to show that there were many who did not regard such an empire as desirable.

When it became apparent that only a part of British America could be claimed in the final settlement, the

[1] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford Edition), Vol. V, p. 770.

[2] Franklin believed in the fullest expansion of the United States and possibly held the most extreme views of any man in public life. See his *Works* (Smyth Edition), Vol. III, p. 358; Vol. IV, p. 462; Vol. V, p. 4; Vol. VI, p. 425; and Vol. VIII, p. 472.

Deane urged the conquest not only of British North America but of the West Indies and Bermuda. — Letter to Vergennes, March 18, 1777, in the French Foreign Office, *Affaires Etrangères, Etats Unis*, Vol. II, No. 71. See also Sparks's *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 70.

The Lees in Virginia appeared to hold the same ideas with Samuel Adams, but this was a political coalition and it is difficult to determine just what were their real views on expansion. — Ballagh's *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, Vol. II, p. 60.

States entered into a wild scramble to have their own claims recognized as the paramount interests of the Union. The lands along the St. Lawrence and to the north of Maine aroused the cupidity of the New England States on account of their wealth in fisheries and fur. New York was also interested because she hoped to make the Hudson the outlet for much of the trade of this country.[3] Virginia was pressing her charter claims to the old Northwest and there were commercial and territorial interests in many of the other States to urge that this territory must be a part of the United States.[4] The Southern States claimed the Southwest, the eastern Louisiana of the French empire, as integral parts of their territory, guaranteed by their charters and essentional to their peace and safety. They declared that these "back-countries" had already been settled by Americans from the older States, and that it would be dishonesty to desert them.[5] With the claims to the West went also the contention for the right freely to carry on commerce through the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. There remained only the Floridas, toward which the Southern States appeared indifferent if only the British should not remain there as neighbors. Congress soon determined to offer them to Spain in return for her assistance.[6]

[3] Kingsford's *History of Canada*, Vol. V, p. 251. See also the instructions to the American Commissioners to France regarding the importance of the fisheries. — *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford Edition), Vol. VI, p. 1057.

[4] Gerard, the French Minister to the United States, wrote as follows on December 22, 1778: "les proprietaires des Terres des Illinois et de deux etablissements immenses projettés et commencés sur l'Ohio n'epargneroient rien pour y susciter des obstacles, et ils auroient bien des moyens pour former un parti puissant." — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 47.

[5] Gerard wrote on December 19, 1778: "Ces états aiment mieux diriger l'emploi de leur forces contré ce qu'on appelle *Backountries*". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 47. And again on January 28th: "ils disent quils ne peuvent abandonner leurs compatriots qui se sont formés en corps de nation". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V. No. 47.

[6] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford Edition), Vol. VI, p. 1057; *Papers of the Continental Congress*, 25, Vol. I, pp. 9 ff.; Franklin's *Writings* (Smyth Edition), Vol. VII, p. 40.

To every claim urged by the States there was much opposition. The South was not enthusiastic for the conquest of Canada, for there was a feeling that the West might be sacrificed for the ambitions of Massachusetts to control the fisheries. The Northern States showed great indifference to the pretentions which the South maintained to the West,[7] and much jealousy developed from the gigantic claims of Virginia.[8] Those States whose western boundaries were fixed showed little disposition to support the claims of their more ambitious sisters.[9] Great Britain, on her part, was anxious to keep all she could, and until the last hoped to be able to reconquer at least a part of her revolted colonies.[10] Spain was not satisfied with the Floridas, and determined to hold the Mississippi Valley, at least as far as the Ohio, and to exercise exclusive control over the navigation of the Mississippi River.[11] France tried to avoid becoming involved in the dispute between the United States and Spain.[12] Ver-

[7] Luzerne, French Minister to the United States, wrote in January, 1780, that the North was indifferent to the dangers of the South and would gladly surrender it for Canada. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XI, No. 33.

[8] There is in the French foreign office a pamphlet written by Thomas Paine vigorously denouncing the ambitions of Virginia. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XV, No. 112, pp. 26 ff.

[9] Jennifer, a member of Congress from Maryland, opposed all claims of the States to the West. — *Observations on the Points Contested . . . . Between Spain and the United States.* This was a memoir written by him and sent to Vergennes by Luzerne with despatches of October 17, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XIV, No. 91; Ballagh's *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, Vol. I, p. 452.

[10] Luzerne wrote to Vergennes, on June 24, 1780, that the British were trying to persuade the people of South Carolina that the North had abandoned them, and he expressed the opinion that they were planning to form a new colonial empire out of the Carolinas, Georgia, and the Floridas. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XII, No. 118.

[11] Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats Unis, d'Amerique*, Vol. IV, p. 70; also Jay's report of his negotiations with the Spanish Minister in Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. IV, p. 64.

[12] Instructions to Gerard, first French Minister to the United States, March 29, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. III, No. 77.

gennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, wished to leave Canada in the hands of the British in order to bind the new Republic closely to the Bourbon monarchy; he planned to obtain the Floridas for Spain;[13] as for the West, he had only a vague conception of its importance and only a general idea of the claims that were to be made to its possession.[14] He was, however, very anxious to win the help of Spain, which he was willing to purchase with cessions of land in America. He also expressed himself as unwilling to spend French blood and treasure for the expansion of the American confederation. As his policy developed it appeared that he was willing to leave the Northwest in British hands and was anxious to obtain the Southwest for Spain.[15]

The first French Minister to the United States described the dominant spirit in Congress as one of individual self-interest.[16] He noted too the party spirit which had apparently become quite strong before the intervention of France.[17] His coming doubtless ac-

[13] Vergennes expressed his policy regarding Canada in a *Mémoire au Roi*, dated July 4, 1777, and marked *apprové*. — *Affaires Etrangères, Espagne*, Vol. 585, No. 56.

[14] Vergennes wrote to Gerard on October 26, 1778, as follows: "je juge par la situation des lieux que les Americains insisteront sur la liberté de la navigation du Mississippi . . . . et je vous assure qu'il me paroitroit étonnant qu'on refusât à cette demande. Cependant il peut y avoir pour negative des considerations locales que j'ignore". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 43.

[15] For discussion of the policy of Vergennes, see Phillips's *West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution*, Chapters II, III, and V. Vergennes came finally to regard the United States as bounded by the line drawn by the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec, or, in other words, by the Allegheny Mountains.

[16] Gerard to Vergennes, August 12, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IV, No. 13.

[17] Gerard arrived in Philadelphia on July 12, 1778. On the 16th he wrote: "J'ai deja aperçu qu'il regnoit dans le Congrès comme dans presque tous les corps un ésprit de parti mais il paroit qu'il ne s'agit que la diversité de principes ou ploutôt d'un degré d'ambitions differente de quelques membres preponderant". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IV, No. 2.

celerated this spirit, for he brought to an issue a question which had remained generally in the background, the question of the boundaries. Gerard realized from the first the importance of the navigation of the Mississippi to the West. He saw that the power which controlled this River would likewise control the territory which it drained. In view of these facts, he did not think that Congress would ever consent to renounce the right freely to carry on commerce through its entire length and into the sea.[18] This assumption indicated the belief that Congress would seek to hold as much of the West as possible.

Gerard found the Americans quite anxious for the alliance of Spain, and they were particularly interested in getting money from that country by granting to her parts of British North America.[19] At first only the Floridas were put on the market, but in September, 1778, a suggestion was made or considered by certain members of Congress to give Spain still greater concessions in the South.[20] This idea of making concessions to Spain in return for subsidies was doubtless fostered by the French Minister,[21] and in Congress it gained in favor rapidly.

[18] Gerard to Vergennes, July 25, 1778: "je l'ai [Miralles, Spanish agent in America] persuade dé representer à sa cour que jamais le Congrès ne consenteroit de plein gré à renouncer à la navigation du Mississippi necessaire pour servir de debouché aux établissements immenses que les americaines se proposent de faire sur l'Ohio et autres rivieres affluentes". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IV, No. 41. On July 9, 1779, he wrote: "L'exclusion de la navigation du Mississippi en mettant les habitans futurs des vastes contreés de l'ouest dans la dependance de l'Espagne et de l'Angelterre les Etats ne pourront jamais espérer que ces possessions augmentent utilemt la masse de leurs forces". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IX, No. 104.

[19] Jay's *Life of Jay*, Vol. I, p. 100. Gerard declared that several Americans came to him with this proposition. September 1, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IV, No. 114. Congress offered to surrender the Floridas, on condition of Spanish assistance, as early as December, 1776. — *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. VI, p. 1057.

[20] Gerard reported that they were willing "declarer ennemi de la Confederation tel Etat qui entreprendroit au de la certaines limites". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IV, No. 114.

[21] In December, 1778, Gerard had several interviews with members

In January, 1779, Gerard suggested that, in addition to the Floridas, Spain should have complete control of the navigation of the Mississippi,[22] and thus the fight in Congress was openly begun. It was clear that with the control of the Mississippi went also the Southwest — at least that part south of the settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee — and so the issue was drawn on sectional lines. Gerard reports that the majority of Congress took kindly to his suggestion,[23] and it is not improbable that he is right. Nine States north of the Potomac had no vital interest in the Southwest or in the navigation of the Mississippi, and all sections were anxious to please France and to obtain the help of Spain.

The commercial and industrial interests of the Middle States lined up for a policy to satisfy the desires of Spain, and they were ably championed by Morris and Jay. There were several reasons for their attitude. In the first place, they were anxious to control the trade of the West, and they believed that with the Mississippi open such control would be impossible. With it closed, the only possible outlet for the Western trade would be over the mountains to the cities of the coast. The industrial interests on their part were afraid that, with the Mississippi open, the West would develop rapidly and

of Congress regarding the boundaries of the United States. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, Nos. 46 and 47. He suggested a resolution "de renouncer à toute conquete et de se contenter de leur territoire". December 14, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 46. Soon afterward he suggested that "en renounçant à toute conquete à toute agrandissement de territoire et à toute possession hors du continent qu'alors les Etats unis ne seroient jamais forcés de prendre part aux querreles des autres Puissances". December 22, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 47.

[22] *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 52. On February 18th Gerard wrote the following to Vergennes of an interview with a Committee of Congress concerning an alliance: "en jettant simplement les yeux sur la Carte que j'étois conduit à penser que la possession de Pensacola et la Navigation exclusive du Mississippi pouvoient seules remplir cet objet". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 98.

[23] January 28, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 52.

draw off the laboring population of the East. This they saw would raise the price of labor and injure manufacturing interests. Added to these were the jealousy and dislike which the North felt for the South and the fear that with the Southwest she would exercise a preponderating influence in the Union. Morris informed Gerard that the jealousies of the several States and the conflict of their special interests would prevent any union on the question of the West. He declared that there were many who favored a law of *coercendo imperio* to prevent any increase in the actual boundaries of any State.[24] Under no circumstances was he willing to do anything to aggrandize the South.[25] In fact so strong was this feeling that Gerard reported repeatedly that the North would be willing to surrender all of Georgia.[26] Samuel Adams, who was friendly to the South, believed that the North and the South would form separate republics.[27]

There was also on the part of many Northerners a well defined fear of the growth of the West. Already the regions of Kentucky were peopled by a class which showed itself restive under the rule of the East, and a similar class was already beginning to settle in the Northwest. The West would grow rich, argued Morris, by its trade through the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, and would come in time to demand its independence, or to

[24] October 20, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 33. Two years later we find New York and Pennsylvania willing to close the Mississippi in order to promote their own interests. — Marbois to Vergennes, October 17, 1780. *Etats Unis*, Vol. XIV, No. 23.

[25] Gerard reports that Morris felt the "inconviens de s'agrandir au Sud". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IV, No. 153.

[26] One reason for the surrender of Georgia as reported by Gerard was that such a great extent of territory in such a climate would enfeeble the confederation. July 20, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IX, No. 46. Similar reports were made on January 23, 1780, and March 31, 1781. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XI, No. 33; and Vol. XVI, No. 25.

[27] Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats Unis, d'Amerique*, Vol. IV, p. 106.

dominate over the East.[28] Others agreed with Morris, or declared that, with the kind of people who were migrating there, the United States would be put to enormous expense to keep them in subjection. Even then they expressed a fear of continual warfare between the East and West.[29]

Jay justified his position by the statement that the Republic was already too large to be well governed.[30] Samuel Huntington declared that the West was of no practical benefit to the Republic, which would be more powerful without it.[31]

So anxious was Congress during the winter of 1778-1779 for the assistance of Spain and for the continued cooperation of France that there appears to be little opposition to the policy of Jay and Morris. Gerard reports that in the Committee of Foreign Affairs there were only two States on the other side.[32] He asserted also that Jay, who was President of Congress, promised that on the question of the Mississippi nothing would be done

[28] "Il [Morris] me confia de plus que les mêmes personnes [those who favored abandonment of the Southwest] croyoient qu'il étoit de l'interet même de la confederation que la navigation du Mississipi depuis l'embouchure de l'Ohio appartiene exclusivement à l'Espagne parceque c'étoit le seul moyen de contenir dans la dependance de la République Americaine la population nombreuse qui se formeroit entre l'Ohio les lacs, sans leur aveu de gens indociles et en quelque manière sauvages; . . . seroient en état de dominer sur les Etats unis et sur l'Espagne ou de se rendre eux mêmes independanted". Gerard to Vergennes, October 20, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 33.

[29] Gerard reports some of the American delegates as saying "que le vaste pays qu'ils possedoient dans ces contreés avoit commencé à se peupler sans leur aveu de gens indociles et en quelque manière sauvages; . . . . ce qui les mettroit dans la necessité d'entretenir des troupes permanentes dont ils redoutoient la charge ainsi que l'etat perpetuel de guerre dans lequel ils trouveroient constitués". February 18, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 100.

[30] December 19, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 47.

[31] Luzerne to Montmorin, May 12, 1780. — *Espagne*, Vol. 599, No. 49.

[32] These two States were probably Virginia and North Carolina. Gerard to Montmorin. — *Espagne*, Vol. 594, No. 4.

without consulting him.[33] Jay also expressed his approval of the plan to leave the boundaries of the Southern States as they were at the moment of the Revolution.[34]

The French Minister was firmly convinced that Congress would do everything possible to satisfy Spain.[35]

The opposition of two States, Virginia and North Carolina, did not appear formidable, but it was to prove the center around which all those who had interests in the West or who were opposed to the demands of Spain were to gather. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York there were many with investments in the West, investments which they would not tamely see imperiled.[36] Although South Carolina and Georgia had agreed to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi,[37] they did so from fear of British aggression, and no sooner was this

[33] Gerard reports that Jay said nothing would be done "sans m'avis ulterieur". Gerard to Vergennes, January 28, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 52.

[34] "Le President me marquer de la manière la plus fort . . . . que s'agissant de tirer une ligne de separation, elle se trouveoit toute faite en se bornant à la Georgie et autres territoires des colonies angloises telles qu'elles existoient au moment de la Revolution". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 52.

At this time it was argued that the Proclamation of 1763 limited the western boundaries to the mountains. Jay, who wrote many years afterward, asserts that he was willing to consent only to the surrender of the navigation of the Mississippi and the Floridas. — Jay's *Life of Jay*, Vol. I, p. 100. At a later time, however, he was very antagonistic to Spain and might have understated his position. The northern boundary of the Floridas was as yet undetermined.

[35] January 29, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 53.

[36] The party opposed to the surrender of the Mississippi, wrote Gerard on January 28, 1779, "se fondent sur les interets de la population qui s'établi sur l'Ohio, vers la rivière illinois, dans le Pays de Natchez, dans la floride occidentale". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 52.

On March 8th, he wrote of the strong objections which the proprietors of lands on the Ohio and Mississippi had to the surrender of the navigation of that River to Spain. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 153. On July 14, 1781, Marbois, Secretary of the French legation, mentions Duane of New York as one of those with a great part of his fortune invested in the West. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XVII, No. 106. See also Note 18.

[37] Ramsey's *History of the Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 300.

danger removed than they resumed their claims. Added to these financial interests was the slogan that Americans had settled there in good faith and it would be an act of treachery to abandon them to the mercies of Spain.[38] Another argument advanced was that with the Americans excluded from the Mississippi the British would control all its trade to the detriment of Spain. By the treaty of 1763 they possessed the right to free navigation of the River, and with the Americans out of the race they could make terrible use of it.[39]

There were many opposed to the policy of the commercial interests regarding the Mississippi who were anxious to please France and win the help of Spain and who were sincerely seeking some grounds of compromise. There was also a small but energetic faction, led by Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams, which would accept no compromise. This faction was known as the "Junto", and sought to hold Congress to its original declarations regarding the West and Canada.[40] Although its whole policy received but little support, the faction could count on powerful assistance upon any particular measure which it chose to urge. If the question was on the fisheries, all New England stood at the side of the Junto. If it was with regard to the annexation of Can-

[38] "ils disent quils ne peuvent abandonner leurs compatriots qui se formes en corps de nation et qui demandent à etre admis à la confederation americaine". Gerard to Vergennes, January 28, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 52.

[39] March 8, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 135.

[40] "Le parti de l'opposition n'a jamais été composé que de Messrs Lee et de leur partisans". January 29, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 53. Before long the name of Adams was coupled with that of Lee. Adams was also accused of desiring to prolong the War for his own personal ambition. March 4, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 68. See also Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats Unis, d'Amerique*, Vol. IV, p. 222. Lee coupled the navigation of the Mississippi with the fisheries (a claim supported by Adams) in many letters. — Ballagh's *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, Vol. II, pp. 60, 69, 98, 103, 151, 156, 161, 184. The first of these is to Samuel Adams.

ada, all the Northern States gave encouragement. Virginia and the Middle States were anxious to get the Northwest Territory, and the whole South united in a demand for the Southwest and the navigation of the Mississippi.

On the question of the navigation of the Mississippi, Lee saw that there was no chance for a full concession from Spain, and he proposed to appeal directly to Great Britain for this privilege in defiance of the desires of Spain.[41] He declared that, in virtue of the Family Compact, the favor of the French king would always be for Spain, and that the United States would never receive justice.[42] So bitter did this controversy become that the Junto finally became known as the anti-Gallican party.[43]

The policy of the Junto was frowned upon in Congress. Lee's brother Arthur was recalled from the mission in Europe, and in his place was sent Jay, the friend of France.[44] Gerard soon felt that his plans would carry with the Junto alone in opposition.[45]

Outside of Congress the opposition to the Junto was no less pronounced. New England denounced Adams for sacrificing the interests of his section to the ambitions of Virginia. Virginia denounced Lee for slighting her interests for those of the North.[46] The failure of the Junto meant the ascendancy in the South of the more

[41] Gerard to Vergennes, March 10, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 143.

[42] May 4, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VIII, No. 33.

[43] *Etats Unis*, Vol. IX, No. 29. Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats Unis, d'Amerique*, Vol. IV, p. 175.

[44] Gerard wrote of Jay as follows: "J'estime l'homme le plus propre à cette mission". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 65.

[45] He wrote that they would carry "avec telle majorité que Mr. Lee s'est trouvé le seul opposant". — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VIII, No. 77.

[46] "M. Lee à été accusé en plein assembleé des Etats de Virginie d'avoir sacrificé les interest d'Amerique et de l'Alliance et l'orage qui s'est élevé contre M. Samuel Adams à Boston vient de la forcer de se rendre dans cette ville. Ces deux champions se voyent necessités par le clameur publiqué à changer leur language. . . . Au surplus les sont resolus a ne pas maintenir le Ligue formeé par M. Richard Lee avec les Etats de l'Est. Ils

moderate element. This party was anxious for the right of free navigation, but was willing to concede to Spain the control of the Mississippi below the thirty-first parallel, if that power would grant the West a free port on the Gulf.[47] The Junto had been denounced as selfish and unpatriotic, and the British invasion of Georgia and South Carolina gave point to these charges. The pecuniary help of Spain was felt to be indispensable. At the beginning of 1779, Virginia and North Carolina showed a disposition to take the moderate point of view. Their representatives on the Committee of Foreign Affairs informed Gerard that they felt it would be an advantage for Spain to hold the key to the Mississippi, for this would help hold the West in subjection.[48] They also declared their willingness to allow the most stringent regulations regarding contraband, and they asked the right to export only such goods as were produced in the West and to import such articles as were used in a legitimate way.[49] The debates on the question of the navigation of the Mississippi occupied nearly all the attention of Congress during the month of March, 1779, and on the 24th a motion to make this an ultimatum was lost.[50] Congress was uncertain regarding its policy toward the Southwest[51] and hesitated to oppose the de-

travaillent au contraire a y eu opposer une formeé d'Etats qui ont des Vues analogues et ceux du Sud étant disposés à suivre l'impulsion de la Virginie''. Gerard to Vergennes, June 12, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VIII, No. 98.

[47] Gerard to Montmorin, February 14, 1779. — *Espagne*, Vol. 594, No. 4, pp. 9 ff.

[48] Gerard to Montmorin, February 14, 1779. — *Espagne*, Vol. 594, No. 4, pp. 9 ff.

[49] Luzerne to Montmorin, August 25, 1780. — *Espagne*, Vol. 600, No. 108, pp. 265 ff.

[50] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XIII, p. 369.

[51] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. XIII, p. 241.

A resolution of Congress on February 23, 1779, declared the southern boundary of the United States to be ''the boundary settled between Georgia and East and West Florida, and by the river Mississippi''.

mands of Spain. That it did so after a time is to be attributed to policy rather than to any settled conviction.

The question of the Northwest offered still more difficulties. Here five States had claims by virtue of their charters, and others were urging consideration on account of settlements made there by their people or by right of conquest.[52] New York and Pennsylvania both claimed as integral parts of their territory lands situated west of the Mountains. Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Virginia had claims to the Northwest by virtue of their charters. All these claims overlapped.

Virginia sought to supplement her charter rights in the Northwest by actual conquest. No sooner had Gerard arrived in America than he remarked concerning the unreasonable pretensions of the Americans on account of the exploits of a "young fool" who claimed to have driven the British from the Mississippi.[53] Soon after this, Patrick Henry, as Governor of Virginia, planned with Mirrales, the Spanish agent in America, for a joint attack on the Floridas in behalf of Spain, to be followed by a similar expedition to the West to conquer that country for Virginia.[54] Within a few months Virginia claimed a new title to the Northwest by virtue of the success of Clarke.[55]

In New York there seems to have been a revulsion of sentiment regarding the West. Morris and Jay doubt-

[52] "Le point le plus difficile à déterminer est la limite depuis le lac Ontario à l'Ouest jusqu'au Mississippi. Les Etats soutiennent que ce sont eux qui y ont formé des Etablissements et fait exercer la jurisdiction; que l'Angelterre n'a pu tirer ses droits pretendus que de cette possession des Etats. Ceux au contraire pretendent les tenir à titre de Conquetes". Gerard to Vergennes, March 4, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 133.

[53] This was Major Willing. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IV, No. 23.

[54] July 25, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IV, No. 41.

[55] "Les succes du Major Querk dans le Pays des Illinois leur present un nouvel apas". December 19, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 47. Lee mentions the expedition "voted by the last Virginia assembly" for the attack on Detroit. — Ballagh's *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, Vol. I, p. 428.

less felt that if Spain controlled the mouth of the Mississippi that would be a sufficient guarantee for the subordination of the Northwest. Morris had suggested to Gerard a joint attack on Canada, and he here mentioned Detroit as one of the most valuable posts, while he urged the conquest of the Illinois Country.[56] The dream of Jay and Morris seems to have been the establishment of a commercial republic centering in New York and including Canada and the Northwest. With Spain in control of the lower Mississippi and the Southwest, the supremacy of their section would be assured. France was to have Newfoundland, while the remainder of Canada should go to the United States. Such a "triumvirate", said Jay, "could defy the universe".[57]

The settlements already made by Americans in the Northwest strengthened the demand in the Central and Northern States for the retention of this country. In spite of the fears of members of Congress, the dreams of expansion which filled the thoughts of the average man did not cease. While Congressmen were talking of the abandonment of the West, projects were being formed for its further development.[58] Perhaps this spirit was encouraged by the land companies, but the working people doubtless had their share. Many had already settled there, others were planning to go, while those who stayed at home stood by their migratory brothers. This alone can explain the fact that New Jersey showed the same

[56] "Les Americaines attaqueront à la fois tous les points depuis la riviere de Illinois jusque à Quebec". Gerard to Vergennes, October 20, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 33.

[57] December 19, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 47.

[58] "La confiance Mgr. des Americaines dans les éventements est telle qu'on s'occupé serieusement de la proprieté d'um terrein immense d'environ trois cent millions d'acres depuis la fouche de l'ohio et du Mississippi jusqu'a la Riviere des Illinois. La Compagnie des Concessionnaires a étable des assembleés régulières et s'occupe des moiins de peupler et de defendre ce vaste Pais". Gerard to Vergennes, November 10, 1778. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. V, No. 35.

disposition as New York. The only other factor was the imperialist sentiment directed by men like Samuel Adams and Richard Henry Lee.

The claims of the large States were bitterly resented by those States which had no Western lands. Maryland was most resentful, and Virginia was the chief object of her hatred. Lee had already recognized the antagonism of the landless States, particularly New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and even New York. Although he did not mention Rhode Island, that State should be admitted to the list, and Pennsylvania also showed signs of discontent.[59] In general, however, these States, excepting Maryland, hesitated to express themselves in favor of surrendering the West. All these States showed great anxiety for the help of Spain. Particularly eager were they for financial assistance. The States with claims to the West were already planning to meet their financial obligations by the sale of lands. The landless States maintained that they should have a share in the returns and if this were denied them they proposed to support the claims of Spain. They proposed to fix the western boundary of the United States at the Allegheny Mountains, and to dispose of the West to the best advantage.[60] The chief advocate of this policy was Jennifer, a delegate from Maryland.[61] In a memorial prepared in 1779, he urged that the United States had no occasion to occupy the West, but did have great need for the assistance of Spain, which could be obtained only by concession. He pointed out the American reverses in the South as proof of this latter contention. He argued that in the South-

[59] Marbois to Vergennes, October 17, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XIV, No. 23, pp. 105 ff.; Ballagh's *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, Vol. I, p. 452.

[60] "On propose de determiner ces limites en prenant le Traité de Paris d'une main et de l'autre la proclamation du mois d'octobre mil sept cent soixante et trois qui fixe la consistance des Colonies angloises". Gerard to Vergennes, March 3, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. VII, No. 131.

[61] July 9, 1779. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. IX, No. 17.

west especially it would be a long time before there could be any settlements. He argued that the charters of the States were of no force for they were given by a power whose authority had been renounced, that they were conflicting in character, and that they were of no more validity than similar charters in the archives of other countries.[62]

In spite of the general disposition of Congress to seek ways of pacifying Spain, the Southern States, at the beginning of 1780, still insisted upon the rights which they derived from their charters to the lands behind the mountains.[63] Burke of North Carolina was most vehement in defending the claims of the South, and he was vigorously supported by the old Junto. Burke declared that, if the title of North Carolina to the lands along the Mississippi was not good, her claims along the Atlantic seaboard were no less doubtful.[64] He maintained that the projects of Spain were "unjust, contrary to the rights of the thirteen states, and prejudicial to their happiness and their tranquility."

Another man who expressed his thoroughgoing opposition to the surrender of the Southwest was Rutledge, a former member of Congress but in 1780 Governor of South Carolina. Rutledge had been driven from his State by the British and was particularly anxious to get Spanish aid. But he would not concede to Spain any ter-

[62] Jennifer's *Observations on the Points Contested in the Actual Negotiations between Spain and the United States.* Translation enclosed with despatch of October 17, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XIV, No. 91, pp. 118 ff.

[63] "J'ai trouvé ceux [delegates] du Sud et du Centre dans la ferme persuasion que les terres qui s'etendent depuis la mer atlantique jusqu'au Mississippi . . . . leur aparttenoient soit en virtu de leurs chartres, soit en virtu de divers actes de possession". Luzerne to Vergennes, February 11, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XI, No. 30.

[64] Burke informed Luzerne that he owned land along the Mississippi and that he knew his own rights and those of his constituents. Luzerne to Vergennes, February 11, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XI, No. 53. Luzerne describes Burke as an "homme ardent et obstiné quoique d'ailleurs bon Cityen". June 11, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XII, No. 74.

ritory north of the thirty-first parallel. He used much the same arguments as did Burke, but he enlarged upon the danger of continual war which the Western settlers would wage upon Spanish domination. The West, he argued, was to be the foundation of new American States and any loss there would be a serious detriment to the new Republic.[65]

Another member of Congress who expressed his opposition was Jones of Virginia. He had previously been friendly to Spain, but when Jay's message informed him of the full extent of Spanish claims, his indignation knew no bounds. He complained that Spain was seeking to take advantage of the United States at the moment when it was most threatened with dismemberment. He declared that Spain was seeking to deprive the United States of the valleys of the Ohio and the Cumberland which comprised the richest part of the continent and which was already settled by a numerous and industrious population. He declared that Congress could not force these people to pass under Spanish rule, and that the proposals of Spain were impossible.[66]

Matthews, another delegate from Virginia, declared that the right of the United States to conquer the West could not be denied. He asserted that this right had already been exercised and that citizens of the United States were already settled there and were living under the laws of the United States. The occupation by Spain of forts near the mouth of the Mississippi could not give that country claim to the whole Valley, he argued, especially since most of it was already held by the United States. Such a claim, he maintained, was an act of war against the United States.[67]

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[65] Luzerne to Vergennes, August 3, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XIII, No. 90, pp. 224 ff.; *Thomson Papers*, Vol. III, pp. 95, 100.

[66] August 25, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XIII, No. 150, pp. 365 ff.

[67] Luzerne wrote that Matthews regarded "cette occupation accompagneé d'actes de jurisdiction comme equivalent à une conquête et que les

All the New England States, except Rhode Island, strongly supported the claims of the Southern States. The French representatives believed that it was because they wanted Southern help for their ambitions in Canada. New England too was nearly free from war but still had much to hope for from American successes. If the struggle were continued, the British might be forced to make many concessions on the north. New York, too, with her vague claims to the West, showed a disposition to support the claims of the South.[68]

In many States there appeared a disposition to compromise. Some of the Northern delegates admitted that Spain had a right to conquer the Southwest, if it were not already in possession of the Americans.[69] Others proposed the cession to Spain of the territory lying between the Mississippi and the Appalachicola rivers and bounded on the north by the Tennessee. This proposition was denounced in the South as dismemberment, and some of the delegates recalled an old resolution of Congress that it would suffer no diminution of the territory of any of the States.[70] Livingstone, who was Secretary for Foreign Affairs, suggested that Russia should be given an establishment in the Southwest as an inducement for her assistance to the United States and as a check upon Spain.[71]

Some of the Southern delegates, however, did show a disposition to compromise. Virginia was alarmed at the threats of rebellion which came from Kentucky, and

Etats ayant l'avantage de la priorité sur les Espagnols''. March 13, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XI, No. 33.

[68] Marbois to Vergennes, October 17, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XIV, No. 23, pp. 105 ff.

[69] ''Quelques délégues des Etats de l'Est ont announcé la même opinion que ceux du Sud avec cette difference cependant qu'ils inclinent à croire que si l'Espagne s'emparoit d'une partie de ces mêmes countreés tandus qu'elles étoient entre les mains des Anglois''. February 11, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XI, No. 33.

[70] September 8, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XIII, No. 176, pp. 453 ff.

[71] May 10, 1782. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XXI, No. 236.

there were some to suggest that if Spain were to extend her claims the remainder of the West might prove more peaceful.[72] At the time of the great danger from the British in the South there arose a suggestion from one of the delegates from North Carolina that the three Southern States should cede Spain a strip of land east of the Mississippi,[73] but soon the tide turned and the suggestion was dropped.

The faction opposed to Spain gained rapidly during the last year of the War. The increasing population of the West doubtless exerted considerable influence, but the growing hostility to Spain was the chief factor. When it became apparent that Spain would not ally herself to the United States, there was no reason why the States should surrender any of their claims. So strong was this feeling that two delegates from New York who were friendly to the alliance declared to Luzerne that, while they might surrender all claims to Canada without incurring any odium, they dared not abandon the West. If they did, they would be accused of having accepted bribes to violate the laws of the Union in sacrificing the interests of some States for the benefit of others.[74] In accord with this spirit, Congress decided once more to demand the navigation of the Mississippi, but with the reservation that it might recede for the proper compensation.[75]

The conflicting claims to the Northwest were the

[72] "Ce changement [in Virginia] est peutetre dû à une circomstance particuliere, c'est que les habitans des parties de cet Etat, qui sont éloigneés du Siege du Gouvernement announce dans ce moment des vues d'independance et le projet de former un état particulier". June 11, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XII, No. 74.

[73] "Un delegue de la Caroline Meridionale m'a dit que la Georgie et les deux Carolines avoient resolu d'abandonner cent mille arres de Terrain à la rive gauche de ce fleuve". December 15, 1780. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XIV, No. 104.

[74] Luzerne to Montmorin, May 12, 1780. — *Espagne*, Vol. 599, No. 49, pp. 106 ff,

[75] December 19, 1780. — *Espagne*, Vol. 601, No. 191, pp. 457 ff.

source of much difficulty. Virginia and New York were most aggressive, but other States were not backward in urging their claims. Notice of the vast land cessions which was given in 1780 seemed to allay all jealousy, and at the close of the War Jennifer was left alone. In 1782 there was some discussion of leaving this empire in possession of the Indians under the joint protection of Great Britain, France, Spain, and the United States,[76] but there was no serious argument in favor of it and the treaty of peace settled the whole question. The French Minister reported that the United States would willingly make peace with the sacrifice of the lands beyond the Ohio, and rather than continue the War would surrender all claims west of the mountains. If this last condition were enforced, he feared it would arouse such hatred in America for France that all that had been gained by the alliance would be lost.[77] The favorable terms which the United States did receive at the treaty of Paris, although they failed to satisfy every one,[78] were due not so much to the firmness of Congress as to the skill of our representatives abroad.

[76] Luzerne to Vergennes, September 12, 1782. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XXII, No. 68.

[77] Luzerne to Vergennes, June 13, 1781. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XVII, No. 33.

[78] There were complaints at the negligence with which the boundary was drawn from Lake Superior to the source of the Mississippi. Luzerne to Vergennes, March 19, 1783. — *Etats Unis*, Vol. XXIII, No. 119.

AN ARMY SURGEON'S LETTERS TO HIS WIFE

By Luther M. Kuhns

Up with the banner of the free! and forward to the battle field!
On, for your nationality, till every treacherous foe shall yield.

This couplet appears on a sheet of wartime letter paper. In the sinister upper corner of the sheet is the Goddess of Liberty, standing erect in martial panoply, holding in her right hand the stars and stripes. On the dexter side of the page are the words, "Camp Randall, Madison, Wis., ————186—."

Two hundred letters of Surgeon Stephen O. Himoe[1] of the Fifteenth Wisconsin United States Volunteers have been entrusted to me. These letters, written almost daily to his wife, practically constitute a diary of

[1] Stephen Oliver Himoe was born in Norway on March 10, 1832. At the age of thirteen he came with his father to the United States settling in the State of Wisconsin. He attended the public schools and graduated from the Academy at Plattville. He studied medicine and graduated in the St. Louis Medical College in 1856. He moved to the State of Kansas, then the seat of turmoil and conflict. From that time until the outbreak of the Civil War, Dr. Himoe stood fast for everything that represented civil liberty, good government, and the welfare of the community in the young State. In September, 1861, Governor Robinson commissioned him as Assistant Surgeon of the Fifth Kansas Cavalry. In November, 1861, he was commissioned Surgeon of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Infantry, which position he held until his resignation in November, 1863. He was on the battlefield at Perryville and Stone River, and was in charge of the hospitals at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, during February, March, and April. During the Battle of Chickamauga he had charge of the Field Hospitals at Crawfish Springs and the Sanitary Rooms at Chattanooga. For reasons of a purely personal character he resigned his position on November 13, 1863. On this occasion he was complimented for his competent and efficient services in special orders from the headquarters of the Department of the Cumberland. At the close of the War he returned to Kansas. In 1885 he moved to Kansas City, Missouri, where he continued the practice of medicine until his death on April 19, 1904.

the War from February 25, 1862, to November 9, 1863. Only those portions which throw sidelights upon the movements of the regiment and the operations of the Union forces in the campaigns for the possession of the Mississippi are given. Other portions of the letters belong to the intimate relations of husband and wife.

The West was destined to exert a powerful influence in the conduct of national affairs. This was a direct result of migration to the West, the establishment of new States, the extension of the suffrage, and internal improvements at federal expense. "The race was toward the West." The establishment of States in the Mississippi Valley, affected by immigration and exceedingly Democratic, was to have a determining influence in the future of the government.

One of the results of this development of the West was a struggle with slavery. Immigration avoided the States where slavery was prevalent as the form of labor. The new citizens could not compete with the slaves in wages, and slavery made it difficult for them to become proprietors of their own enterprises.

Upon the outbreak of the Civil War the operation of the Union forces was a bifurcated movement — one in the East, the other in the West. In the West the operations had for their main object the saving of the Union, and the preservation of an open Mississippi River. The campaigns in the Mississippi Valley during the Civil War, Fiske justly terms the "turning of the left flank" of the Southern Confederacy, and he adds that the "mighty work" in the "successive conquests of Vicksburg and Chattanooga were cardinal events of no less importance than the final conquest of Richmond". The Mississippi Valley thus became the theatre of a serious part of the struggle for the preservation of the Union, which meant the death of slavery.

The task of the North was, essentially, to enter the

Southern territory, suppress armed resistance, and restore the authority of the Union; that of the South was to resist conquest, accomplish secession, and establish a permanent government. In the Mississippi Valley it involved the border States and their attitude and place in the War.

In the campaigns of the armies of the West, the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment bore an honorable part. This regiment was recruited mostly from Scandinavians — Norwegians in fact. There were few Americans among its numbers. Some of the Norwegians had been in America less than a year. The material looked hardy and active. Some had served in European armies. With the exception of Company A, which was enlisted in Illinois, and Company K, which was enlisted from Minnesota and Iowa, the regiment was raised in Wisconsin. During the period covered by these letters, it was the only regiment of its kind in the service. Its organization began at Camp Randall at Madison, Wisconsin, in December, 1861. Its muster into the United States service was completed on February 14, 1862. The regiment left for St. Louis on March 2nd.

Hon. Hans Heg, born near the city of Drammen, Norway, on December 21, 1829, formerly State Prison Commissioner, was the Colonel of the regiment. Under his supervision its organization was effected. The original strength of the Fifteenth Wisconsin was 801 men. It was mustered out with 320 names on its rolls.

The departure of the regiment for the front is described in the first letter as follows:

Camp Randall, Madison, Wis., Feb. 25, 1862.

I have arrived safely. The Col. and family came on the train at Waukesha. He came down as far as Eagle yesterday. . . . we are to leave on Friday via Beloit and Galena and Chicago Railroad; will arrive at Chicago by dusk, are to have a banner presented to us by the Scandinavians and a sup-

per at Tremont by the R. R. Co. and are to depart via Chicago Alton and St. Louis R. R. by 9 or 10 o'clock same evening. . . . Ole will start about a day in advance of us to prepare for our reception at St. Louis. . . . Major Reese also was on the train returning from Chicago, where he had been to see the Norwegian prisoners. There are about 30 of them, all anxious to reenlist in our regiment, but we cannot get them except through certain slow red tape processes on the part of the War Department.

In Chicago the Scandinavian "Society Nora" presented the regiment with a beautiful flag, the motto being "For God and Our Country". On the obverse side were the American colors with gilt stars on a blue field. On the reverse side were the American and Norwegian arms united, the Norwegian arms representing a lion with an axe on a red field. On the flag was inscribed: "Presented by the Society of Nora, of Chicago, to the Scandinavian Regiment, March 1, 1862." This was the flag referred to in the letter.

The regiment reached the front. It formed a part of the expedition against Island No. 10, and was the first regiment landed on the shore of the Tennessee River on April 8, 1862. In this connection the gallant Foote, commanding the gunboats, is affectionately referred to thus: "The old Commodore is a cautious and sly fellow and plays his game slowly but surely."

The regiment was in the Battle of Perryville, which, considering the numbers engaged, was one of the bloodiest of the War. It formed a part of Carlin's brigade of Gen. Mitchell's Division, which moved forward on Sheridan's right, covering his flank, and joined him in an advance which finally resulted in throwing the enemy back beyond Chaplin Creek and pressing them to Perryville. Company B, deployed as skirmishers, was the first to enter Perryville the morning after the engagement.

In the Battle of Murfreesboro, or Stone River, where

the regiment lost its Lieutenant Colonel, David McKee, it "earned a reputation for bravery and patriotism of the highest order". Their loss in this battle in killed, wounded, and missing was "119, being more than one-third the number that went into the fight".

In the Battle of Chickamauga, where Colonel Heg was killed, the regiment also distinguished itself by signal bravery. The spirit of the men after this "Great Battle of the West" is described as follows: "Our army is terribly broken by vastly overwhelming numbers but concentrated around Chattanooga, will never surrender the place to the enemy, while a single battalion remains to die in its defence. The country *must* and *shall* be saved."

This correspondence touches and throws sidelights upon the "Jayhawkers", army contracts, the army's estimate of its commanders, "Copperheads", John Morgan, and marching from the river to the sea.

The "Jayhawkers" were originally border ruffians in the free soil conflicts in Kansas; in the Civil War they were members of bands which combined pillage with guerrilla warfare. These "freebooters" are referred to in the following letters:

Camp Etheridge, Tenn., June 22, 1862.

. . . . Yesterday there was a grand Union meeting at this place which the Colonel and I attended in advance of the regiment. Hon. Marquis J. Parrott was the orator, and he made one of his best efforts. Gen. Mitchell also addressed the people announcing his policy to be to restore the protection of the constitution and laws of the United States. He will make the citizens rebuild the burned R. R. bridges and hold them and their property responsible for any depredations upon public property.

Those who violate their oath of allegiance he will hang. This is a Union district, having out of 160 votes only cast 10 for Secession. There was a great turn-out at the speaking, one-third probably being ladies, the best blood of Tennessee.

There are many in tasteful and even elegant attire and with handsome figures and fair faces.

The Jennison Jayhawkers are true to their old instincts, stealing everything they can lay their hands upon. They make the Secesh hunt their holes mighty quick. Yesterday they shot two young men who boasted they were Secesh. They say "if you are Secesh you ought not to live" and shoot them down.

Four days later there is given this vivid description:

In Camp near Humboldt, Tenn., June 26, 1862.

After a march of 11 miles from Trenton yesterday we arrived here and encamped. . . .

The Jayhawkers are camped with us, the balance of the forces being about a mile from here. Of course there is no enemy now in this part of Tennessee and what they want of us here, except to guard and protect Secessionists we do not know. Gen. Mitchell does all he can for them, but he has a most unruly and troublesome brigade. The Jayhawkers of course do their best to evade his orders and entice away negroes and confiscate rebel property on their own private account and the 15th bids fair not to be much behind them. The 2nd Ill. Cavalry, 7th and 8th Wis. batteries, the 1st Kans. Inf. and the Kans. battery are all very good Jayhawkers; while the 22nd Mo. have the reputation of stealing the Jayhawkers blind. We ourselves beat them yesterday. They arrived in camp a couple of hours before us and stole the sheaf oats in the field. There were several bee hives over which they placed a guard intending to steal them during the night "three hours before day" as they said. Our boys, however, were prowling around and I told the sergeant who was guarding the hives to run for additional guards or our boys would jayhawk the hives right before his eyes.

He did so and before his return every hive was gone. The jayhawkers say they can steal honey in the night but to do it in open day, when the bees are swarming, beats them. We have a plenty of honey, mutton, chicken, apple sass, sweet potatoes and other garden sass. Gen. Mitchell of course will pay for all no matter how big a traitor the owner is and that makes us mad so we jayhawk all we can and entice away all the negroes we can. I believe, and the government will find it out some day, though it may be years first, that the only way to put down this rebellion is to hurt the instigators and the abettors of it.

Slavery must be cleaned out; there is no use to talk about

peace without it and the course pursued by Jennison's men is certainly the quickest method to do it and the best, because the quickest. The real warfare that we shall carry on for the present will be between Gen. Mitchell and the materials composing his brigade. Col. Heg is quite conservative and wants to please the General; while Lt. Col. McKee, tho' formerly a Democrat, is as radical as John Brown and does all he can to spite him. We shall have a lively time. Col. Anthony and one of the Captains of the 7th Kans. were ordered under arrest yesterday for some nigger scrape and today some of the General's staff undertook to take a negro out of their camp, a proceeding that signally failed. An order has issued to exclude all negroes from the lines, especially women. . . . I do not know how long we shall remain here; probably not long as the attempt to make us slave catchers has so signally failed. We shall not go beyond the boundaries of this state, as Halleck's policy is to shut up the rebels in the Gulf states and starve them out, without pursuing any further and they can no doubt soon be choked in that way. . . . The regiment is well, not a single one sick in hospital here.

General Mitchell seemed unable to control and discipline his troops. Upon this fact General Buell makes the following comment: "A far more serious fault was the habitual lawlessness that prevailed in a portion of General Mitchell's command. He has described it himself in a dispatch to the Secretary of War. 'The most terrible outrages — robberies, rapes, arsons and plunderings — are being committed by lawless brigands and vagabonds connected with the army'; and he asks for authority to visit the punishment of death upon the offenders. The authority was granted, but nobody was punished".

General Grant makes the following observation:

Up to the battle of Shiloh, I, as well as thousands of other citizens, believed that the rebellion against the Government would collapse suddenly and soon if a decisive victory could be gained over any of its armies. Henry and Donelson were such victories. . . . Then, indeed, I gave up all idea of saving the Union except by complete conquest. Up to that time it had been the policy of our army, certainly of that portion commanded by

me, to protect the property of the citizens whose territory was invaded, without regard to their sentiments, whether Union or Secession. After this, however, I regarded it as humane to both sides to protect the persons of those found at their homes but to consume everything that could be used to support or supply armies. Protection was still continued over such supplies as were within lines held by us, and which we expected to continue to hold. But such supplies within the reach of Confederate armies, I regarded as contraband as much as arms or ordnance stores. Their destruction was accomplished without bloodshed, and tended to the same result as the destruction of armies. I continued this policy to the close of the war. Promiscuous pillaging, however, was discouraged and punished. Instructions were always given to take provisions and forage under the direction of commissioned officers, who should give receipts to owners, if at home, and turn the property over to officers of the quartermaster or commissary departments, to be issued as if furnished from our Northern depots. But much was destroyed without receipts to owners when it could not be brought within our lines, and would otherwise have gone to the support of secession and rebellion. This policy, I believe, exercised a material influence in hastening the end.

The following comment on the army contracts is interesting:

Stevenson, Ala., Aug. 24, 1863.

. . . . Almost everybody in and around Ft. Scott and indeed more or less of the whole population in Kansas are making fortunes out of this war. . . .

Wilson, Gordon and Ray have the contract to furnish the army with corn at $1.17 per bushel delivered at Fort Scott and the Leavenworth papers of the 12th quote corn there at 35 cents. When the new crop ripens corn will not be likely to fetch over 20 cents in the interior and much of it being paid for in goods, it will leave these gigantic speculators the enormous profit of about $1.00 per bushel.

There is a colossal fortune in that single operation. The mad spirit of speculation and reckless corruption that has held sway so long in Kansas will be a curse to the country.

This spirit of speculation likewise had caught the sutlers of the regiment, for he says: "Christ and Even are well and making money like Sam Hill".

During the War the press was very powerful. It was the age of great editors. The reliability of much of the news that percolated through the lines of the army to the public at home did not commend itself, as we can readily gather from this letter:

Sunday morning, Aug. 3rd, 1862.

Strains of martial music awoke me this morning. It was the band of the 8th Kans. Inf. which was marching past our camp. Perhaps they are going out somewhere to break up a guerrilla squad about which our Generals may have information. There is a place called Bay Springs somewhere about twenty-five miles below where there was a force of rebel cavalry; and just before we came down here our cavalry went down and surrounded the place but the rebels had gone. Lately they are said to have come back.

Our Quartermaster had 10,000 Colts navy revolver cartridges for which our regiment have no use and accordingly he sent a note to headquarters last week asking what he should do with them. Gen. Davis replied: "Respectfully recommended that they be turned over to Gen. Granger to be issued to his cavalry and to be by them again issued to the rebel cavalry at Bay Springs, as soon as it can be done, 'according to the usages of war'. J. C. Davis Brig. Gen. Com. Div."

You cannot place any reliance on the war news in the newspapers. To show how little the papers know about it, I have only to recall what you have read in the Tribune about the late trouble at Humboldt, Tenn. The story runs that the rebels were betrayed by a slave belonging to a man named Beadle who was acting as guide to the rebels and who had taken the oath. A telegram from Gen. Dodge is published stating that Beadle *was hung*, his house burnt and four other houses burned. Now there is not a word of truth in this. It is a canard from beginning to end, got up to make Gen. Dodge famous and to create enthusiasm in the North. The naked truth is that a man named Beadle was suspected of some plot, was arrested and sent to Corinth *where*

he now is. You need not believe any reports about fighting in this region. There can be no big fighting here until we are again defeated before Richmond, because the rebels never attack unless they are superior in numbers and they cannot spare any forces from Richmond just yet. Until big events transpire elsewhere we shall probably not break up our present camp.

Subsequently he writes as follows:

I hope you will learn by and by to think less of newspaper reports or reports from *captains* who want to display a little *bravery* by making you believe that they are fronting a terrible enemy than of what I tell you. I think you will find my statements a little the most reliable. Unless a man is in some respects privileged as I have been with the Colonel and with Gen. Mitchell, it is simply impossible to obtain correct information and I make it a point to say nothing except upon the best authority. The camp of course is always full of rumors as idle as the wind.

Dr. Himoe gives his estimates regarding the Generals in command of the armies. Of General D. C. Buell he writes thus:

Buell has the finest army here that ever trod the soil of Kentucky and the indignation against him was both loud and deep yesterday when it was found that the enemy had escaped.

If Buell retains the command, I do not think he will be in any hurry. He is awfully unpopular with his army from the Div. Gen. to the private. All think him incapable and many that he is a traitor. It is a common saying among the soldiers that he commands both armies; his own and Bragg's. It looks like it. When we overtook Bragg on Green River a week ago yesterday morning, it would have been very easy to have routed and destroyed Bragg's army had the attack been made immediately. In fact, Gen. Crittenden and Thomas each offered to do it with their own Division alone but Buell halted before Bragg's pickets, who were thrown out ten miles beyond his main body, waited and fooled away two days and when at last he marched out to make the attack on Sunday morning, Bragg had gone. Our cavalry harrassed and killed a few of his rear guards on Sunday and Tuesday and that was all, and when Bragg left the road and went east, Buell kept straight on to Louisville. . . .

Buell, our General in Chief, is only unpopular because too slow and cautious, qualities which after all are not bad. . . .

Buell is a curious general. He never shows himself to his troops nor says a word of encouragement or congratulation to them. Not a newspaper reaches the army, neither is any provision made for sending or receiving letters. . . . Buell is said to be a relative of Bragg's, and it might consequently be expected that he would use kid gloves and rosewater in handling him, but in spite of Buell's reticence, the impression gains ground in the army that he is conducting this campaign well and that Bragg's fortunes are getting desperate.

How correctly this represented the conditions can be estimated from the fact that General W. B. Hazen states that, at a dinner at the Galt House, Louisville, Kentucky, on September 27th, Mr. Crittenden proposed and drank the health of "Gen. McCook, the coming leader of the Army of the Ohio". This act, if not prearranged, at least met with considerable favor, and at a table made up largely of General Buell's officers, where Buell had been invited to be present. This was after the battle at Perryville.

General Buell's task was a herculean undertaking. He was hampered by General Halleck who dictated to him a line of supply and communication, all against Buell's better judgment. Besides this, as a strict disciplinarian, he lacked popularity with his soldiers, and private letters written from the army and editorials in the influential papers in the West were at one in their criticisms of him. Added to this, by his lack of tact, he had incurred the opposition of Governor Morton of Indiana, supported by Governors Todd of Ohio, Yates of Illinois, and Andrew Johnson, the Union military Governor of Tennessee.

General Hazen expresses this opinion:

Without in the least detracting from those Generals whose good fortune permitted them to serve to the close of the war and who now enjoy the full honors gained by doing so, I have at all

times believed that Gen. Buell was the best General the war produced. He was a victim to the demand for success; . . . but that army was never again as good tactically as while under Buell.

General Grant writes as follows in regard to General Buell:

Gen. Buell was a brave, intelligent officer, with as much professional pride and ambition of a commendable sort as I ever knew. . . . He was studious by habit, and commanded the confidence and respect of all who knew him. He was a strict disciplinarian, and perhaps did not distinguish sufficiently between the volunteer who "enlisted for the war" and the soldier who serves in time of peace. One system embraced men who risked life for a principle, and often men of social standing, competence or wealth and independence of character. The other includes, as a rule, only men who could not do as well in any other occupation. Gen. Buell became an object of harsh criticism later, some going so far as to challenge his loyalty. No one who knew him ever believed him capable of a dishonorable act, and nothing could be more dishonorable than to accept high rank and command in war and then betray the trust. When I came into command of the army in 1864, I requested the Secretary of War to restore Buell to duty.

Of General Rosecrans a better opinion was entertained, as is shown by these extracts:

Rosecrans may perhaps fool the rebels to attack him as he did at Iuka and Corinth, and if they do, the result will not be doubtful. The army was a mere mob when he took command but it has already attained to excellent discipline. Every department is already in brisk running order and the daily army mail is not the least of his excellent arrangements.

There is nothing but victory in store for this army while led by so excellent a General.

Winchester, August 10th, 1863.

. . . . I presume the orders from Washington to go into east Tennessee at once are imperative. That this is our destination there can be no doubt, although it is uncertain whether we shall move to the right or to the left to get there.

I hardly see how we are to get forage for our horses in and beyond the mountains until corn gets ripe but I presume the old General who fought so successfully among the mountains of West Virginia understands his business.

It is evident that General Rosecrans had inspired confidence in his soldiers. Nevertheless, it was deemed expedient at Washington to remove him from the command of the army. Rhodes quotes C. A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, as writing to Stanton as follows:

I have never seen a public man, possessing talent with less administrative power, less clearness and steadiness in difficulty, and greater incapacity than Gen. Rosecrans. He has inventive fertility and knowledge, but he has no strength of will and no concentration of purpose. His mind scatters; there is no system in the use of his busy days and restless nights. . . . He is conscientious and honest, just as he is imperious and disputatious.

Of the same officer General Grant says:

I was delighted at the promotion of Gen. Rosecrans to a separate command, because I still believed that when independent of an immediate superior the qualities which I, at that time, credited him with possessing, would show themselves. As a subordinate I found that I could not make him do as I wished, and had determined to relieve him from duty that very day.

In the North "Copperheads" appeared. The name came from the habit of wearing as a badge a button cut out of a copper cent, on which was a head of the Goddess of Liberty. The epithet as applied by Unionists during the Civil War implied a Northern sympathizer who went so far in his agitation as to give aid to the South. The soldier at the front did not belong to this class. His views on this subject and his opinions relative to the raid of the famous guerrilla chieftain, John Morgan, are frank:

I would a thousand times rather perish in the storm of battle than be a croaking copperhead. The regeneration of our great country is a just and holy cause and those only who have aided it will be honored by prosperity.

It is amusing to observe how these Indiana and Ohio sol-

diers take this Morgan raid. They seem to feel so good over it although it is right at home. The fact is the soldiers feel that they are not properly appreciated at home although they stand with their lives as a living wall between the northern states and desolation and war. Now the copperheads have a chance to see and taste a little of the state of things that would prevail were there no army in the field. Our army now feels itself invincible and fully able to clean out the copperheads as well as what little remains of the rebellion.

. . . . Bragg's army is utterly demoralized and confused, deserting to us by the whole battalion, officers and all. Handcars come up the railroad track from Chattanooga almost daily with deserters. Hereafter soldiering in the West will be nothing but pastime and triumph. With the Mississippi in our possession, the rebellion west of it is practically destroyed.

The net results of the campaigns of 1862 and 1863 in the Mississippi Valley were that all Kentucky and Tennessee were safely restored to the Union, the strongholds that dominated the Mississippi and the upper reaches of the Tennessee were wrenched from the Confederacy and the Father of Waters flowed on to the Gulf beneath the flag. "Thus ended in triumph the work of the western army." The West accomplished her task. The task of the East was unfinished. The western army was prepared to move for a junction with the eastern army to complete the capture of Richmond. This evidently was in the mind of our soldier when he wrote the following letter:

Camp near Jacinto, Miss., Aug. 9, 1862.

The news of the energetic action on the part of the War Department reached us yesterday. Oh, what joy and enthusiasm it awakes in the army. Those fellows who were afraid to go have to come now; good. And the war is to be closed within nine months. . . . Good again! 600,000 men! Better and better. How huge that will make the great Anaconda. How it will strengthen his back and when he begins to move and contract his gigantic coils, how it will knock the breath out of the rebellion. March a strong column from here to Mobile and an-

other from East Tennessee to Charleston; thrust the Confederacy through and through, severing the lines of communication and where would they be. Won't there be fun though soon? We'll coral Secesh like the Indians do grasshoppers in California.

The services of the Norwegians in the Union army were greatly appreciated. This incomplete picture of army life from the intimate letters of a soldier to his wife gives us an insight into the camp life, the emotions and feelings of the soldier, and last but not least they disclose the spirit of genuine loyalty and sturdy patriotism on the part of the Scandinavian troops in the Union army.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WORK OF REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

By Clarence W. Alvord

Seven months have now passed since one of the most industrious and lovable historians of Western America, Reuben Gold Thwaites, was called from our midst. Since he was a charter member and an ex-President of this Association, it is most fitting that a review of his work should be presented at this meeting; for in a very true sense we who are gathered here are the heirs of his life-long labors. He has now gone, and our sense of loss of a great soul whose love enfolded the whole world, and who charmed all those coming in personal touch with him will call from us involuntarily only expressions of the highest admiration, as our minds linger over the memories of a thousand acts of personal kindness, and our eyes regard the works of scholarship which this beloved comrade has left behind as his monument.

I, too, was a friend of Dr. Thwaites and was associated with him in a professional way for several years, until I learned to love and honor him, and that association with him is now one of my dearest memories. But to-day, after the passing of seven months has assuaged our grief, and in this place, before an audience composed of historians of Western America, expert scientists in the field to which Dr. Thwaites dedicated his best efforts, I feel that there is demanded something more than a eulogy of the man and historian, even though his memory is dear to us. When death lays its cold hand upon the average man, the eulogy pronounced over the grave is the final word concerning the dead spoken in public; but such is

not the case when the world has been deprived by death of the services of a man who has gained great prominence in his life-work. With the passing of time there is a demand for a more complete knowledge of how his life-work was performed, that those who follow in his footsteps may in some way pass a critical judgment upon his worth. The prominence of Dr. Thwaites in the field of history was of such magnitude that the sincere compliment of such an evaluation of his work should not be withheld. His greatness has placed this demand upon us.

You will at once perceive that the Chairman of the Program Committee has demanded of me both a difficult and delicate task. Difficult, because Dr. Thwaites's activities were multifarious and because the time that has elapsed since his death is too short to permit us to view him in the true perspective. The task is delicate, because I must throw aside the eulogistic style, to which my pen involuntarily turns, and must view the work of the man in that same objective manner that is used in studying the deeds of an historical character of the past. This process may seem to Dr. Thwaites's many friends too cold, too critical; but it is the debt he pays to his prominence, and that it is paid is an index of his greatness. If we must admit that his genius had limitations, this characteristic he shared with all mortals; and nothing will be added to the lustre of his reputation by the futile claim of abilities which he did not possess.

In his recent memorial address on Dr. Thwaites, Professor Turner said: "In the course of a little over a quarter of a century, Dr. Thwaites wrote some fifteen books and edited and published about one hundred and sixty-eight volumes. To this total of one hundred and eighty-three volumes, which makes about seven for each year, should be added something like one hundred articles and addresses. Of course his worth is not to be tested by the number of volumes — most of these were anno-

tated or reprinted collections of documents; but to have been the responsible editor for so great and so substantial an historical output while carrying arduous administrative duties implies an activity beyond the power of most men of letters and science."

Professor Turner's encomium is my text. Let us consider to-night what was the value of this activity that was "beyond the power of most men of letters and science."

This output of volumes is stupendous and one looks with a feeling of awe at the long bibliography of his published works, which is to be printed in the memorial volume to Dr. Thwaites soon to appear and which I have seen only in proof. You will grasp some conception of its length when I tell you that it occupies seven galleys and will be cut up into probably twenty-one pages; and it must be remembered that some of these entries stand for many volumes, as, for instance the seventy-three of the Jesuit Relations.

Although there will be found much to praise in Dr. Thwaites's work, I feel that, in face of this long list of published works, a warning should be given against appraising a man's worth as an historian by the length of the bibliography in his memorial volume. There is no necessary relation between the two, although we may find that there is such a connection in this case. In 1910 Professor Channing of Harvard University delivered an address before the American Antiquarian Society on *The Present State of Historical Writing in America*. It is an address that I can recommend to any claimant for honors in the historical field. After discussing the various kinds of historical activity and pointing out what was the highest product of the historical pen, Professor Channing closed his address with these words: "Let anyone turn the matter over in his own mind and see if he cannot count the really first-class works of American historical

writers within the last twenty-five years, on the ends of his fingers; and yet conceive of the number of persons engaged in historical pursuits and the number of books constantly published under the guise of history. Some day the wheel will turn around; scholarship will again be valued as a national asset; and a new Parkman will arise! Possibly he may produce only one volume, but if that volume shall be of the quality of the *Pioneers of France*, it will do more for the cause of educating the plain people and the building up of his own reputation than the printing of documents by the ton or the publication of monographs by the dozen."

While this quotation from Professor Channing is fresh in our mind, it will be well to consider whether among the one hundred and eighty-three volumes to which Dr. Thwaites attached his name there is one that may be placed in this supreme class of histories. Is there any work that will entitle the name of Dr. Thwaites to be recorded within that charmed circle of honor where are written the names of Thucydides, Gibbon, Von Ranke, and our own Parkman? Has he shown that great creative genius, akin to that of the great artist, that compresses the story of an epoch or of a nation into the covers of a few volumes? The statement of the question carries its own answer. Few of us historians rise above the order of craftsmen; and, like us, Dr. Thwaites never produced a volume, which by any stretch of the imagination could give him rank among the historians of the first order.

Eliminating, then, from our consideration, those products of supreme genius, let us turn again to study this list of one hundred and eighty-three volumes that we may understand the mind that produced them. The fact which came to my notice first when looking over this bibliography was that there was missing the title of a real monographic work. This points to one very decided lim-

itation in the scholarly activities of Dr. Thwaites. The true monograph is a very personal product brought to fruition after a most painstaking and laborious collecting of material, followed by a critical examination of the sources, and then the final synthesis that results in a new interpretation. If well done, it may be one of the most creative works of historical science, but, as Professor Channing remarks, of the second order of merit; and it is the usual product of the present-day scholar. That Dr. Thwaites had no inclination for monographic productions was due, no doubt, to the fact that he was not trained during his youth in the historical schools and in later life never acquired that true historical interest that leads scientists to love the working out of difficult problems. Trained in business and the newspaper profession, his mind was that of the entrepreneur, to whom the slow, laborious process of monographic writing made no appeal. Quicker results alone would satisfy his fertile mind; but that very demand of his has meant that the name of Thwaites has never been attached to any new and definitive interpretation of some epoch or phase of American history.

Let us now take a closer glance at those productions that have been issued from Dr. Thwaites's workshop. They may be divided roughly into four classes: (1) travel sketches such as *Historic Waterways*; (2) histories proper, such as *Wisconsin*, one of the volumes in the *American Commonwealths Series*, and *France in America* in Hart's *The American Nation*; (3) source material edited for the public market, including three great collections of sources, *The Jesuit Relations*, the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, and *Early Western Travels*; (4) the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* and the *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.*

The first class belongs more to the field of general

literature than to that of history. These delightful sketches of his experiences in canoeing on the various historic rivers of the West was quite in accordance with Dr. Thwaites's genius. His light literary touch charmingly described what was seen by an observing eye trained for years in the newspaper school. This he did well, and we shall find that this is in keeping with the peculiar genius which he possessed; but, of course, we can not consider such literary productions, mere by-products of a fertile pen, when we are reviewing his contributions to the science of history.

Concerning the second class of books I feel that sufficient has already been said for an estimate of their value. None of these works is of monographic character; nor do they rise to the plane of great historical writings. We all remember our disappointment in reading his *France in America*, and we shall not soon forget how the critics pointed out that there was in it neither preëminent accuracy in detail, originality in interpretation, nor genius in the development of the story. In his history of Wisconsin, the success was not greater. Perhaps the criticism of this book in the *American Historical Review* (Vol. XIV, p. 630) hits on the principal failing of Dr. Thwaites as a writer of history. The reviewer writes: "One could desire fewer facts and a larger discussion of leading topics, such as, for example, the Indian policy of Lewis Cass, which is discussed with a few words of implied censure." Dr. Thwaites's mind was trained for the examination of details, for an appreciation of the fringes of the garment rather than the garment itself; it is the description of the fringe which the great public, that he courted all his life, loves to hear described. In his written work it is seldom that we are able to find a real appreciation of the hidden motives of men or of the great underlying forces of which events perceptible to the senses are but the results. Even his fondness for de-

tail did not mean correctness of details; nor would this be expected of one who never produced monographic studies. There is scarcely a subject of which Dr. Thwaites wrote that some successor has not been able to illuminate by a more careful and critical examination of the sources. To him it came as a surprise that parts of Jonathan Carver's *Travels* were plagiarized, that the narrative of *Wau Bun* was not trustworthy, that there was more to be said concerning the occupation of the Illinois Country by George Rogers Clark than is told by Clark himself. All this means that Dr. Thwaites's critical ability was not well developed, which accounts for that superficiality in his treatment of an historical subject that has been already noticed.

That Dr. Thwaites was not a great writer of history is so generally known that perhaps I have been wrong in lingering so long over this phase of his activities; but in order to understand what his real work was, it is important for the purpose of clarity to understand what it was not. We use words so loosely that we are obliged to define by elimination; but now that this process of definition is over, let us turn to the pleasanter task of examining the true work, in which his full genius displayed itself.

Professor Channing in the address from which a quotation has already been given, says: "Historical labor finds its activities in many directions. It may be grouped under three heads: (1) the collecting and printing of original sources; (2) the reporting on masses of material or on specific sources [monographs]; (3) historical writing. The first two of these groups represent craftsmanship; the third division represents art." In Professor Channing's description of the first division occurs this passage: "The task of making accessible the tools of the historical writer is a necessary part of historical labor and those who engage in it deserve appreciа-

tion and recognition, — they are the altruists of the profession, in that they cut themselves off from the reputation-making forms of historical endeavor."

Dr. Thwaites belonged to this altruistic class of historical craftsmen, as Professor Channing terms them; but in spite of the difficulty of making a reputation through the publication of source material, Dr. Thwaites has by the magnitude of his labors gained for himself the reputation of being one of the greatest benefactors of the historical fraternity this country has produced. That this reputation is deserved is to my mind indisputable and a discussion of his labors as editor seems hardly necessary in this meeting of historians, who must all pay to him the debt of gratitude. Still it will be a pleasure to linger over his work for a moment that we may have a fuller realization of his merit.

You may remember that I divided the one hundred and eighty-three volumes of the bibliography into four classes, of which two remain to be discussed. They were the source material published for sale in the public market and lastly the publications of the Wisconsin Historical Society. I separated these into two classes because the first were produced primarily for scholars and the second were to be distributed freely to the citizens of the State of Wisconsin, and, therefore, there was excuse in the case of the latter that the rigid requirements of historical science should be somewhat disregarded. For the purposes of this paper, however, the classes are of little importance; and I shall discuss both together and join thereto a discussion of Dr. Thwaites's activities as Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

When Dr. Thwaites became Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society some twenty-seven years ago, the development of the study of history had not made much advance in the West. Such work as was being done was of a low order and in a purely antiquarian spirit. The

most successful historical societies in the country were privately endowed institutions, and Dr. Lyman Draper in the last years of his secretaryship at Wisconsin had recommended that the State Society should sever its connection with the State and seek an endowment. Dr. Thwaites belonged to a new generation, and his newspaper training had given him an insight into the soul of the public. Like a prophet he looked into the future and saw the rapid development of the Western States, and also like a prophet he touched with his magic wand of world-knowledge and charming personality the rock of public opinion and there gushed forth a spring of liberal appropriations. Through his efforts a State historical society had an assured future; and every State-supported institution in the country owes to Dr. Thwaites a debt, for as the Society at Wisconsin has advanced in power and reputation, it has pulled with it the societies in less advanced States. I feel very sure that the *Illinois Historical Collections* would be unknown to-day, possibly unborn, had not Dr. Thwaites been successful in winning the public support in Wisconsin and so obtaining State appropriations for the promotion of scientific work in history.

But Dr. Thwaites was more than a skillful extractor of appropriations from unwilling legislatures. He found the Wisconsin Historical Society without efficient organization and with a small library. He has given his attention to both until that Society is the best local organization of its kind in the United States and the library in many departments is without a peer. Having made his instrument fitted for service, he gave it to the public and to the scholars of the world. He was the first to unite the State historical agent and the university department of history so that they gave each other mutual assistance — a union which some States have brought about only lately with great difficulty, while others are still limping along on two ill-mated crutches.

To scholars from other States Dr. Thwaites gave the warmest welcome. His was not a stingy spirit. He opened his institution for service, and he kept the doors wide open. There were no manuscripts reserved for his private use, none withheld from publication because he or his staff might print them in future years. If an institution or individual could use a manuscript immediately, Dr. Thwaites gave it, and what is more gave freely of his time in the way of assistance. Let me record here a personal experience. When the Illinois State Historical Library was just beginning its active work of publication, we naturally enough found that some of the most important manuscripts illustrating our history were among the choicest treasures of the Draper manuscripts at Madison. The present President of this Association, Professor J. A. James, and I were both editing volumes which should contain the Clark papers. We asked Dr. Thwaites for the privilege of copying and printing. I am happy to be able to tell here that the generous policy inaugurated by Dr. Thwaites was equal to this demand, and you know the result: in the Virginia Series of the *Illinois Historical Collections* are to be found a long list of these valuable documents; and it is my belief that in thus giving the treasures to a sister institution just beginning its career Dr. Thwaites did more for the advance of historical science in the West than if he had reserved them to be published by himself. I know this: that his generosity made the first volumes of our *Collections* such a success that there is now little danger of our ever losing legislative support. Illinois bows its head to Wisconsin as a child to its mother; Professor James and I honor Dr. Thwaites as a friend and benefactor. A broadness of view that led him to encourage and foster the rise and development of a sister institution, which too many unfortunately would have regarded only as a rival, is an indication of his greatness of soul and must be taken into account in the final summing up of his services.

The State of Illinois was only one of the States he assisted. His personal support has been freely lent to the development of historical study in every Western State. He wrote countless letters of advice and spoke at numberless meetings in the hope of promoting the advancement of his beloved science in different localities. Up and down the Mississippi Valley he preached the doctrine of preserving manuscripts, newspapers, and other printed material, and the need of their scientific utilization; and his personality, his genial nature, and his pleasing and persuading speech called forth large audiences to hear him. A more scientifically trained historian could never have reached such large numbers, and during the early part of his secretaryship, this evangelistic work, for which he was so well suited, needed to be done. The conversion of the West to scientific methods in historical activities, so far as it is to-day converted, must largely be accredited to the labors of Dr. Thwaites.

That genius for organization which he revealed so fully in his management of the Wisconsin Historical Society and in his assistance to his neighbors, is seen also in his editorial labors. The study of Western history had not kept pace with the advances made to the east of the mountains. There the older societies had been putting forth a steady annual product of volumes of collections so that students could find the first essentials of research, printed sources, at hand; but in the West, almost nothing had been done, so that it was impossible for the student to collect his material without undertaking long journeys. To overcome this difficulty there was needed a man with a clear vision of what was needed and with a genius for organizing the machinery to carry through a great publishing enterprise. In Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, *Early Western Travels*, the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, and the many publications of smaller works, we have the results of his life's activities. They constitute

a noble monument. What matters it that there are some mistakes? We know that the translations of the *Jesuit Relations* at times show an unfamiliarity with Catholic institutions, but the originals are printed; the edition of the Lewis and Clark journals reveals a misunderstanding of the importance of the earlier explorers of the Missouri, but the journals of the great expedition have been made accessible; in the *Early Western Travels* is printed a book which has been proved to be a plagiarism, and we all know that the foot-notes contain many inaccuracies, but a large number of almost inaccessible travels have been put into this collection; and last but not least Dr. Thwaites has added to each of his great publications an index of marvelous inclusiveness and clarity. Through his genius for persuading publishers and for building up a staff of workers, he has made the study of Western history in many of its phases a possibility.

Professor Channing has labelled such products as this the work of the historical craftsman; but the work of Dr. Thwaites is that of a craftsman of genius. Even if he had had the ability and had, after a life's work, brought forth a few volumes on the history of the French in America which were superior to anything Francis Parkman ever wrote, and by his work had enrolled his name among the great historians of the world, even then his services to the cause of historical study in the West would not have been comparable to those which he actually performed.

Dr. Thwaites was a true altruist, and in the performance of his work showed "an activity beyond the power of most men of letters and science." This activity was so directed and his energy was so inexhaustible that his total output of printed works and personal influence are almost beyond our powers of understanding; but this we do know and appreciate: that he has placed the whole West in debt to him; and we historians of Western Amer-

ica will long cherish his memory as friend and patron, and one who performed the greatest service to the cause to which we ourselves have devoted our lives.

OUR NEIGHBORS OF THE SOUTH

By R. F. McWilliams

I would like, in the first place, to express my appreciation of the courtesy of the President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in extending an invitation to us of the Canadian West to attend and take part in this convention. I think this is the first time that Canadians have been included in your annual meetings, and I am sure I speak for all of the Canadians here this evening when I say that we have had great pleasure in accepting your invitation and in taking part in the discussion of so many subjects of common interest. I would like, also, to join with the toastmaster in complimenting the President and members of the University of North Dakota on the splendid common hall of the University in which we are assembled, and to thank the President and officers of the Commercial Club of Grand Forks for affording us this opportunity of meeting around the friendly board. The cordiality with which you have received us shall be the reason for my theme this evening — some comparisons between the expansion now taking place in Canada and the problems it raises and the similar expansion and problems through which you have passed.

The history of Western Canada bears a striking resemblance to that of your own Northwest. The story of Manitoba, the most easterly Province, runs like that of Wisconsin and Minnesota — a story whose beginning is enriched with the marvelous tales of the French who paddled and portaged and hunted and explored in their search for La Chine, and just as Nicollet and Radisson and Marquette opened a path from the Great Lakes and

found the "Father of Waters", so La Verendrye and his sterling sons pushed their way to the great river of the north and were not content until they had gazed upon the distant mountains. Manitoba was happy in escaping the horrors of Indian warfare, but her early history is checquered with the sometimes bloody struggle between the rival fur-trading companies and her later history marred by two quite unnecessary rebellions of the half-breeds against the government of Canada.

On the other hand, the history of the two Prairie Provinces is like that of your trans-Mississippi States, a record of peaceful conquest by men intent only on winning for themselves broad acres upon which they and their sons might enjoy the freedom of the man who is master of an almost self-contained domain. And again on the Pacific Coast there is a singular similarity — a story of the lure of gold and of the great ocean coupled with permanent riches of forest and stream and valley almost incalculable and of beauties of mountain scenery scarcely to be equalled. Your history is filled with deeds of courage and fortitude which must always serve to kindle within you that pride of race and nation which is a people's choicest possession. We, too, have the same great stimulus to achievement and we have warrant in the past for the high confidence of to-day that just as our brothers to the south have built up a mighty nation in the nineteenth century, so we in the twentieth are but laying the foundations upon lands which Lord Selkirk, the pioneer settler of the West, declared more than a hundred years ago could provide for thirty-five million people.

The difference between us is a difference of time. We are doing our work in the new century — the century in which the telegraph, the railway, and the newspaper have made the whole world like one small kingdom, when the capital of London or Paris is put to use in Winnipeg in the twinkling of an eye, when the news of new homes

for the landless is carried to the millions of Europe before its meaning is fully realized at home, when the virgin turf itself is put to man's use with a fourteen furrow steam plough. It is this rapidity of movement which gives to the development of Western Canada its peculiar character and provides for us both our greatest assets and our greatest dangers.

It is not we alone who are concerned with the manner in which this great development shall be carried out. As you pass into more highly developed stages of economic life, you will become more and more dependent for some of the necessities on our newer lands, and you will find north of the line an ever increasing market for your products. And even more are you interested in us because of the number of your sons and daughters who are helping to people our plains. Every year we are taking more than a hundred thousand of your people, and we know their worth and are glad to get them. You need not begrudge them to us. You are but paying back the loan of more than a million and a half of our very best who sought their fortunes on this side of the line while we languished in the shadow of our great neighbor to whom the eyes of all the world seemed turned. Then, too, every man who crosses the line to make a new home for himself whichever way he goes — and there are still many of our people seeking their fortunes under the Stars and Stripes — every one is another pledge of affection and sympathy between our peoples, another guarantee that no differences of policy or interest can ever drive our nations back to the medieval arbitrament of war or ever sever the bonds of good-will which have for a century preserved peace on our borders. We want your sympathy and your understanding of our problems as we work out our task in nation building till we have achieved the supreme destiny of our country — the binding together in indissoluble alliance of the great Empire of which we

are so proud and of the great Republic which shares our language and laws and institutions. Brother Jonathan — I think that name is more descriptive of your people than the sharp Yankee Uncle Sam — Brother Jonathan used to belong to the family, and perhaps some day there will again be a family dinner party when John Bull and Johnny Canuck and all the other Johnnies scattered about the world will welcome big Brother Jonathan to his rightful place at the right hand, and the firm of John Bull, Jonathan & Co. be reunited, at least in spirit, to fulfill the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race — to stand four square between Europe and Asia, the defender of liberty and right and justice not only for ourselves but for all the weak and the oppressed among the peoples of the world.

If, then, I may be permitted to assume your interest in our problem, I would like to point out some of the most important respects in which the problem differs from that which you have so largely solved. There are two important respects in which our conditions are more difficult and complicated than yours were, and one or two other respects in which, I think, we have the advantage.

In the first place the immigration coming to Canada for the last decade bears to the existing population a proportion about six times as great as the proportion of immigrants at the same point in your growth. The expansion of Canada began in earnest in 1902. In the eleven years since then the immigration totaled 2,405,000 or forty-four per cent of the population as it stood at the beginning of the period. In 1901 our population was only 5,350,000; while in the decade in which your immigration reached a slightly less figure, 1860 to 1870, your population at the beginning of the decade exceeded 31,000,000. The difference is still more striking when we consider the Prairie Provinces by themselves. The same eleven years saw an immigration into these Provinces of

over 1,000,000 as compared to a population in 1901 of 429,000; while in the two newer Provinces the immigrants were four times as numerous as the original population.

Perhaps I can not give a clearer idea of the character of the immigration now coming to Canada, and of the difference between it and that which came to your shores, than by comparing the figures for the last decade in Canada with those of the decade 1860-1870 in the United States.

	To United States	To Canada
From Great Britain . .	1,048,000	944,000
From Germany . . .	966,000	75,000
From other countries . .	359,000	538,000
From United States . .		846,000
	2,377,000	2,405,000
Population of Canada in 1901 . .		5,350,000
Population of U. S. in 1860 . . .		31,400,000

In brief, we are getting rather a less proportion of British, are getting Americans in place of Germans, and with a population one-sixth that of yours at that date, are getting 200,000 more of those non-Teutonic peoples who are so much harder to assimilate and who have so much less knowledge of the principles of self-government and so much less of the common stock of ideas and ideals.

The second respect in which our problem is peculiarly difficult arises from the complex character of the population. Canada is not — never has been and never can be — a nation of one race or language. It must always be remembered in considering Canadian politics — and this point is one constantly overlooked by Canadians who live in purely English districts — that the country was originally settled by the French and that when it finally passed from the French Dominion there were 60,000 French-speaking settlers permanently established in the

country. It is possible that by judicious management these people might have been induced in time to give up their language and have become absorbed in an English population, but before the new government had time to work out any plan the storm of the American Revolution broke and all other considerations were sacrificed to the desire to preserve the old French territories for the British Crown. To secure the allegiance of the French, an act was passed which guaranteed to them in perpetuity the use of their language as an official language and the continuance of their code of civil law and guaranteed to the Catholic Church most of the privileges it had enjoyed under the French régime, including the right to collect tithes by law. The plan was successful in that it secured what is now Central Canada for the British Crown; but it also secured the permanent establishment in the country of a large population altogether different in language, religion, and laws, from the population which settled in the other Provinces. To make these two elements work harmoniously has always been and still is the prime difficulty in Canadian life. At first the whole country was one Province, ruled by the English but under French law. Later, after the large immigration from the States of those who did not sympathize with the Revolution, this plan had to be given up and the country was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, and at the same time there was granted to it a representative though not fully responsible government. But anything like rigid separation was impossible and in the Lower Province there remained a large minority of English disliking the French people and laws and having the ear of the English Governors. Political differences, aggravated at every turn by racial animosity, culminated in open rebellion. Then a new plan was tried: the two Provinces were united in the hope that the English would rapidly out-number the French and at the same time full self-government

was accorded. But the attempt at union came too late, and after twenty-five years of bickering all parties agreed in the solution of a federal union, which, widened to take in the Maritime Provinces, became the Dominion of Canada and very soon after was extended to embrace the prairies and British Columbia. Shortly before confederation, an act was passed which guaranteed to the religious minority of the two principal Provinces the right to maintain their separate schools and to apply their share of taxation for school purposes to these schools. Thus, we entered upon the history of the new Dominion with the second largest Province dominated by a people different in almost every essential from the rest of the population and with separate schools whereby to perpetuate these differences. In the Province of Ontario the main part of the religious minority was Irish, and it will not surprise you that this element of the population did not add to the peace and comfort of either their English Protestant neighbors or their French co-religionists. Nor was harmony promoted by another large element whose proudest boast was their inheritance of the blood of Ulster.

It might be thought, and it had been hoped, that the new Provinces in the West would be free from this legacy of discord; but such was not to be. The claim of the French people is that they are in the country and of the country by a right at least equal to that of the English, that they are not foreign immigrants coming into an English country who must accept the institutions of the country as they find them. Their demand is for the maintenance in the West of the privileges for both language and religion that they enjoy in Quebec. In the Province of Manitoba, where both of these rights were first given and then taken away, the racial and religious difficulties are acute, while in the other two Prairie Provinces a partial system of separate Catholic schools recognized by the

state preserves the separation. If Roman Catholics who speak French are entitled to separate schools in which their own language is given the preference as much as possible, by what logic can the same privilige be denied to Roman Catholics who speak Polish, Ruthenian, or Italian? And if to them, why not to Greek Catholics who speak Russian or Roumanian or Greek, or any other of the large number of Slav languages? When differences of religion correspond — as they so often do with us — with difference of race and language, it will be seen how difficult becomes the problem of assimilation of non-English speaking peoples, whose differences are accentuated and preserved by their up-bringing in separate schools. But I have said enough of the unfavorable side. My desire is that you who are so closely allied to us, and who, better than any other people, can appreciate the questions involved shall have a clearer conception of the special difficulties of the problems we are trying to solve, and thereby have for us that understanding sympathy which will make you ready at all times to help and us glad to take advantage of the wisdom you have learned through long experience.

Our first and greatest advantage is that you have gone before. Your people have been through the period of rapid expansion which has now come to us; you have had to assimilate millions of people born in other lands and convert them into loyal and happy citizens of the new land; and in spite of all, you have built up a mighty nation. What you have done we believe we too can do. Your successes stimulate in us the ambition even to excel. Your mistakes are warnings to us, and if we fail to guard against them we shall not have your excuse that the path was new and the dangers unknown. The immigration to the United States was something without parallel in history since the days almost before history, when Celts and Teutons and Slavs rushed in successive

hordes upon the decaying strength of ancient Europe. The search of the millions of Irish and Germans and many other races for the land of promise, for the land where every man would be free, where every man would be his own landlord, where every man's children would have the opportunity to make the best out of their lives, and their conquest by the arms of peace of a country larger than all Europe, is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, movement in the progress of civilization.

The world is only beginning to realize how stupendous has been your achievement. But we of the North know what it has meant. We know something of the courage and fortitude necessary to the pioneer, something of the problem of forging bonds of love between peoples who have been at each other's throats for centuries in the old lands, something of the difficulty of bringing to people who have never known what real self-government meant a true appreciation of the value of our birthright, and we are determined that in our land, too, there shall be built up a people second to none in all the qualities that make for the real strength of a people, and the true honor of a nation. To do that wisely and well, we need your help. We want the benefit of the knowledge and wisdom of your men of thought, of the men who have delved into the history of their States and come to an understanding of causes and effects by, as it were, growing up with them.

Last fall I had the honor, as President of the University Club of Winnipeg, to welcome the representatives of many of the universities of the Northern States at a dinner given on the occasion of the Inauguration of the new President of the University of Manitoba — a Canadian, by the way, but one who has spent nearly twenty years since graduation on this side of the line — and to welcome none more heartily than the President of the University of North Dakota and his colleague, Professor

Libby. I hope it shall be found to be but the first of many such visits. Our own Club looks forward to an address next fall from President McVey which will, I am sure, be as valuable to us as was the address last fall from the President of the University of Washington.

We are seeking to build up in Canada a nation that shall have a character of its own — not a reproduction of the life and manners and institutions of England, nor yet an imitation of our big brother to the south; but rather, while retaining a deep affection and loyalty to our Mother Country and a great pride in and friendship for Brother Jonathan, to strive to combine all that is most valuable for our circumstances in both English and American life and to add to it whatever we may of the fine qualities of the other peoples who cast in their lot with us. The city of Winnipeg is the gateway of our West, the entrance to which is so contracted by nature that Winnipeg combines the situations of Chicago and St. Louis, and to it gather all the elements of our varied population. Scarcely a State in the Union, scarcely a district in Europe, but has sent some of its best to contribute to the up-building of this centre of Western life. How varied that contribution is, you may judge from the membership of our University Club. I have here a copy of the menu card of the Inauguration Dinner to which I have referred, and on it is a list of the universities represented in our membership — Canadian, seventeen; British, ten; foreign, thirteen; American (we do not in Canada classify Americans as foreigners), twenty-seven — a total of sixty-seven; and I was taken to task for omitting two or three others. That is where the strength of Canada comes from and will come from more and more as the years go by. That it is which gives us the high confidence that we shall build up on these broad prairies a people whom it shall be good to look upon, a nation that shall be worthy of the inheritance of the last great area of virgin lands.

In another important respect we are seeking to learn from your experience and be warned by your mistakes. Your nation grew up like a young giant, immense in size, marvelous in natural strength, full of courage and endeavor and, like a young giant, heedless of consequences which weaker men are forced to beware of. Like, too, the young giant athlete he had many friends glad of the chance to exploit his skill and strength for a mere consideration and eager to cheer him on and to debauch his life so long as there was something in it on the side. We have had some experience of that kind of friendship in Canada. We have been loved so assiduously by railway barons that we have begun to fear that it is possible to have too many lovers at one time. But as the knowledge of your experience is growing amongst us, we are every year building new fences for the protection of public rights. We have wakened to the fact that, if we are to preserve for the people the benefit of the advantages which nature herself bestows, we must see to it that those who seek to serve the public are as keen for the public interest as are the officers of private corporations for theirs.

Our Western Provinces are principally known for their wheat production; and while undoubtedly that will long remain the basic industry, for as yet less than one-twelfth of the cultivatable land is under cultivation, still there are in every Province special resources which can be made sources of large public revenue. British Columbia is, like your Pacific Coast and Mountain States, an almost inexhaustible storehouse of mineral and timber wealth; Alberta for hundreds of miles is underlaid with coal; Saskatchewan has almost illimitable forests as well as wheat fields; while Manitoba which must be the commercial and manufacturing Province has in the recently added territory water powers to the amount of four million horse power, only one hundred

thousand of which has yet passed into private hands. If we can save these resources for the public use we shall be able to meet the ever increasing demands on provincial finances without levying direct taxation, which in Canada is wholly left to the municipalities, and we shall be able to make such provision for the education of the people and the development of our country as shall spread prosperity among all classes. The ideal of all economic legislation, it seems to me, ought to be that tersely stated by a former Premier of one of our sister Dominions, New Zealand — a land in which there shall be neither pauper nor millionaire.

It has been a great pleasure to come to this meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The study and preservation of the records of our histories is one of the most important services which a public man or student can render to his country. It is in the history of a people as of a man, its beginnings, its heredity, its development, that we learn to understand the forces which lie at the bottom of great movements, and are able to guide them with the wisdom which can come only from knowledge. It is particularly important that we, the peoples of the great central plains of our respective countries, should study the history and institutions not only of our own countries but as well of each other's.

The time is rapidly coming, if indeed it is not here already, when the men and women of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys will dominate the affairs of this great Republic. The time is coming when the men and women of the valleys of the Red and Saskatchewan will be the determining factor in shaping the destinies of the Canadian Dominion. But that is not all. In our hands will lie the determination of the relations which shall permanently exist between our countries. We are of the plains. We live under conditions which make for peace; we breathe the very air of freedom; we ask each man of

us but for the opportunity to make of our lives what we can in a fair field without fear or favor; and we are prepared to give to every other man of every other race the same rights.

United in sympathy and understanding, we shall build our nations in bonds of perpetual peace and use our combined strength to carry the blessings of peace and liberty and prosperity to weaker nations till the day of prophecy comes when they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

THE TRAINING OF HISTORY TEACHERS

By John M. Gillette

This paper must be taken only as the expression of a layman. For it is evident that a man immersed in sociology can know little or nothing about the training of history teachers. There are so many historians and educational psychologists who are engaged in the process of teaching history and methods of teaching history that it can but appear that my acting in this capacity of giving advice on this subject is another case of carrying coals to Newcastle. However, I accept the minimum of responsibility in the premises. My sole responsibility consists in having been weak enough to consent, as many another individual has been, when asked.

I may confess, however, that I have had no little interest in the training of history teachers. It was my privilege at one time to teach history and also to teach the methods of teaching history. I have had some experience in trying to discover and to impart the most interesting and most important historical material that I could command and in philosophizing on the most appropriate methods and devices which would be suitable for putting prospective teachers in the way of accomplishing their important function of teaching history in the most direct and effective manner. What I say now is the outcome of that former experience. That it will prove at all important to present teachers of history would be too much to expect. That it may serve to provoke discussion, because it runs counter to what some one present may believe, might make it worth while.

In the beginning let me say that I intend to have

nothing to say about the training of teachers in college positions. Such instructors receive their training now, for the most part, in larger institutions where there are graduate schools. These schools are provided with specialists in history and in educational psychology, who have ample time to go into all phases of historical subjects and educational pedagogy. With ample time and a sufficient force of specialists there can be little occasion to raise the question: Who shall teach history teachers methods of teaching history? Hence my task is limited to the training of teachers for secondary and elementary school work. But even in secondary schools of the larger and better equipped kind there is a decided tendency to demand that history teachers in those institutions shall have taken more or less graduate work and shall have undergone the advantages of specialization.

The idea of the function which history is to perform as a part of a given curriculum is likely to be determined by the philosophy of education, that is, the deliberate view of what education is to accomplish, which one holds. Any subject which is taught is a part of a course of study. If the course of study as a whole has for its aim the accomplishment of a given task, no matter what it may be, the various subjects which constitute it must each have their part to perform in realizing that purpose. Thus history must be conceived to have as its justification a given division of labor.

By contrast in this connection we have what conveniently may be called the older and the newer view of education. The function of history, accordingly, will be regarded as being somewhat different as the one or the other view is maintained. The older view of education, the one which is probably held by the majority of persons who have not emancipated their minds from the binding force of traditional conceptions in education, has regarded education chiefly as a power developer. The

course of study is thought of as an instrument which has been nicely wrought out for the purpose of exercising the various faculties of the intellect. By means of this mechanism the mind is trained and disciplined. The discipline is the end of the process. What is obtained in the way of information or subject-matter is an incident to the process.

The newer view of education regards education as a means of developing in the pupil an adaptative ability. He is to live in a world of many problems. The world of modern society is a great mesh of avenues, interests, and callings. A general equipment for all these callings and problems is not considered possible. At any rate there is an insistent need for information about the actual conditions of life which confront the individual. The knowledge and subject-matter can not be an incident of the educational process. Whether general discipline or power is possible, it is certain that the emphasis must be placed on giving information which will prove useful.

The divergence between these views may be stated in this way: the older view disregards the selection of the most important knowledge in history, let us say, because any information which will develop the mental powers is as good as any other; the newer view regards the selection of the subject-matter as a most important item, because some matter is so much more pertinent for fitting men and women to live and see and act right than is other matter.

On the basis of the newer view, let us consider what it is that history in the schools should accomplish as its division of labor. History is a subject which deals with the social content, with information about what individuals who live together, work with each other, and strive against each other for the attainments of the goals of their ambitions have done, are doing, and are likely to do or ought to do. History may be one of a number

of subjects in the high school which explore and illuminate social relationships. In the elementary schools it has been and is the chief instrument for the accomplishment of this object. But wherever it is, if it is to justify itself, it must try to make the students acquainted with the nature and operation of the social system under which we live. It must reveal and make explicit the mechanism of society, the tendencies at work in it, and the spirit of the age, in order that the conditions which underlie and surround life may be understood. Intelligent direction and control in all matters of collective life are the great objects of present-day intelligent coöperative undertakings.

In the elementary schools history has the task of accomplishing the above result by means of instruction in a particular form of history, namely, a given national history. In our own country this is the history of our own nation. What the pupil is to know about his social relationships must be taught him through his national history and civics. There is little time available for accomplishing this great work. Only a few years, and perhaps but a year or two, can be devoted to it. Furthermore, many pupils pass out of school long before the last grades are reached. Hence the work that is done must be carefully selected with a view to accomplishing in the most immediate manner what is most needed. Consequently, what is of the most direct bearing on present problems should receive the emphasis. On the contrary many of the facts and events of our earlier history, especially of pre-national days, should receive little consideration. Likewise economic and social conditions are of far more importance than military chronicles and campaigns. In other words, careful selection of subject-matter and intelligent organization of that which is selected are positive requisites if the purpose and justification of the study are to be secured.

In the teaching of the subject in secondary schools there is more time and more latitude. Instead of one kind of national history being given, several kinds may be taught. Yet even here it must be remembered that the high schools are not mere academic places where curious erudition may be dealt out, but they are the schools of the people where a training for life is to be obtained, in so far as the schools give it. Only a small per cent of secondary school pupils will go to college. Many of them drop out of school before completing the high school course. It must be said that what is needed is quick, decisive work. Again, it is obvious that the history material which is taught should be carefully selected and organized so that the maximum results may be secured in a brief interval. It is, moreover, essential that whatever the national history taught, whether it is ancient or modern general history, it is important that the conditions of peace, the things in the lives of the masses of people, rather than the details of military exploits or the recondite but innocuous facts of individual intrigues, should have notice.

Another question of not a little importance which arises in connection with the training of teachers is this: Which is to have the greater emphasis in their methodology: the form of presentation or the subject-matter? In teaching the special methods of history teaching should the substance or the method be considered the more important? The decision of these questions will determine who is best fitted to give training in special history methods; that is, whether it is to be given by the historian as a specialist or by the educational psychologist as a specialist.

In a somewhat dogmatic manner the following propositions will be given support in this paper:

First. It is conceded that the formal methods of teaching any given subject are important, and that espe-

cially in the earlier years of the teacher's experience they are essential to economy of time and to the prevention of a needless sacrifice of the pupils. Such pedagogics are useful for determining at what age in the pupil's student life he is able to comprehend given phases or aspects of a subject, what the special form is that any subject-matter shall take at any age period, and what is the general relation of informational content to mental processes. This is a clear division of labor. Providing a subject is equally known by two teachers, and that the ability of the teachers is approximately equal, that one will be the most efficient teacher who has had the advantage of instruction in such methods.

Second. The selection of the subject-matter, to which the principles of psychological methods are to be applied in order that it may find its most presentable form, is likewise a most important function. In fact it can hardly be any but the most important factor in the whole process of instructing in history method. This is true because it stands at the center of the process, and because it furnishes the substance out of which the course of history study is made. It might be pertinent to ask for illustrative purposes, whether the preacher who has an abundant knowledge of his subject but has had no special training in homiletics is more efficient than the one who is ignorant of his subject but has had instruction in homiletics. No doubt the former speaker will have some crudities in his presentation but he has the advantage of possessing a grip of the facts of his subject and a logical understanding of a field of information contains within itself the rationale of a methodology. In using this illustration I am not seeking to maintain that the historian should be or is likely to be ignorant of special methods nor that the educational psychologist should be or is likely to be ignorant of history. I am merely seeking to find a foundation for forming a judgment as to

whether the specialist who handles the substance or that one who handles the form is likely to be in the position to give the most efficient instruction in the process of giving the methods of history or of any other subject. The historian is responsible for the content of history, is master of the subject-matter which the methods of history presuppose. He is in command of both the facts and the principles of the historical field. Since the history content is social, and since the social field is immense in scope and intricate in its constitution, only one who is acquainted with content values by reason of a first hand knowledge of the field is able to make the selection of the material to which psychological principles are to be applied.

Third. Because the historian is so intimately associated with the essential knowledge of his field, because this knowledge of facts and principles is a logical system and embodies within itself a methodology, and because the history instructor of some experience must have worked out an organized scheme and special methods of making his subject strike home, he is in a position of advantage. Providing he has paid some attention to mental evolution and to the development of the child's mind, he is much more likely to be able to formulate a useful and effective course in special history method than is the pedagogist who is master of the psychological principles and fairly well acquainted with the field of history to which the special history methods pertain. This is all the more true when it is remembered that the educational psychologist is instructor in the special methods of arithmetic, grammar, geography, and so on, as well as in history. This being true, it is unlikely that the one instructor shall be master not only of his own specialty of educational psychology but of the informational content of all the various subjects on which he gives special methods.

All of these considerations of course do not touch those cases where the educational psychologist possesses a comprehensive intelligence and is able to absorb the essential knowledge of many fields. There are a few such minds, and the teachers of history are safe in their hands. Nor do these considerations cover the case of those history instructors who wallow in the mire of non-essential facts and lose their students in seas of irrelevancies. There are such instructors, and those history teachers who have to study with them are most unfortunate. But what has been said is in the nature of generalizations which undoubtedly fit the situation in the great majority of cases of both historians and educational psychologists.

THE CIVIC VALUE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL HISTORY

By J. S. Young

This paper proceeds upon the theory that the highest function of an education is to secure a knowledge of how best to use the body, the mind, and the world for the noblest purposes of life; and that history is a powerful factor in fitting an individual for the task of finding himself and his true place in the complex institutional life of which he is a part. The leading characteristic of mankind during recorded history has been that of developing institutions through which a constantly increasing number of human activities find their fullest expression. The individual, therefore, must live the institutionalized life at the present time whether he will or not. The function of history, then, is to socialize the individual by bringing him into contact with the past problems of the race and their solution.

It is impossible to do work in high school history that has the highest civic value unless good work has been done in grade school history. Where, then, should history begin? History or work leading to history should be before the child's mind for a long period. We sometimes undertake to crowd the work of several years into one or two years, with the result that the child balks at such a hot-house process. Again, children have been made to understand that history is a book. Children should be taught that the present is what it is because of the past; that history is not merely a book; that history is larger than the history of our own country; that England and Europe have important lessons for us because we derive our chief political inheritance from them. This pro-

gram can only be realized by having history, or work leading to history, before the child throughout his entire course in the grades. I therefore suggest the following plan:

PREPARATORY

First Grade. The family: father, mother, and children. The home: primitive homes, primitive children, primitive clothing and shelter. Indians and Columbus. The Mayflower and Plymouth Rock. Log cabins built and the lives of the Pilgrims lived over. Christmas. The Eskimo. Children of the snow: homes, clothing, and habits.

Second Grade. Groups of homes. Social and business intercourse: roads, wagons, boats, and bridges. Primitive methods of cooking and fire-making. Properties of flint. Primitive and modern mills. The same special days observed as in the previous grade. To these should be added Decoration Day and Fourth of July.

Third Grade. Organized groups of homes. A few stories about the community where the teaching is done. Historical days, as in previous grades.

HISTORY PROPER

Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Grades. A study of large-hearted, pure-minded, pioneer heroes, using such books as Eggleston's *Great Americans for Little Americans*, the three books in McMurry's *Pioneer History Series*, Miss Andrews's *Ten Boys*, Hart's *Source Readers in American History*, Mowry's *Inventions and Inventors*, and a good civic reader, such as Judson's or Dole's.

Seventh Grade. In this grade the previous work is to be gathered up and integrated. The general bearing of the following should be brought out: the Crusades and their economic results; the Reformation; the Puritan Revolution; the colonial expansion of Europe; the inter-colonial wars; the American Revolution; the Confederation; and the formation of the Constitution.

Eighth Grade. In this and the previous grades the biographical and social elements should be prominent; but the emphasis should tend to be placed more upon the political and economic phases of the work. Such topics as the following should have much attention: rise and growth of political parties; the three departments of government and the work of each; expansion of territory; extension of slavery and its abolition; inventions and their influence; and the spoils system and civil service reform. The following, also, should receive attention: the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the Holy Alliance, and the attitude of England and some of the European powers during our Civil War. Use an elementary text in civil government.

The chief merits claimed for this suggested course as a preparation for high school work and for citizenship, if the pupil does not go beyond the grades are: (1) Its adaptation to the child's changing mental states: (a) interest in simple primitive conditions; (b) the heroic element; and (c) the institutional life of the people. It gives opportunity and time for the child to relive the past, to see and partially solve some of its problems, and to actually become attached to the subject. (2) It is an antidote for narrow provincialism. It connects our history with general history and emphasizes government in the grades where it must be taught if it is to reach the great masses of the children.

I have taken the time thus far to indicate what may be considered the essentials for history in the grades as a preparation for the more advanced work in the high school. If the work has been well done, the child has a considerable fund of historical facts; he has been enveloped in a congenial historical atmosphere for eight years, and has acquired historical-mindedness or the right mental attitude toward the subject. These are the prime prerequisites for high school history. The Ger-

mans traverse historical ground four times: in the lower grades, in the secondary school, in the university, and in the most advanced research work. There is a lesson here for us. First, there should be a large body of historical facts gathered; and second, there should be an interpretation of these facts. The interpretation of historical facts, the seamless tapestry of the historic fabric, the inner connection of events, the relation of antecedent to consequent, the passing of the torch of civilization from one country to another — all these are the watchwords for high school or advanced work in history.

It has already been said that the marked tendency in history is for people to crystallize their activities and interests in institutions. On this point Mace writes as follows:

> An examination of the life of any people will reveal certain permanent features common to the history of all civilized nations. There will be found five well-marked phases — a political, a religious, an educational, an industrial, and a social phase. These are further differentiated by the fact that each has a great organization, called an institution, around which it clusters, and whose purpose, plan of work, and machinery are peculiar to itself. For political ideas the center is the institution called government; for religious ideas, the church; for educational and cultural influence, the school; for industrial life, occupation; and for social customs, the family.

At various times in history the emphasis has been placed upon one institution or another; but the steady, dominant tendency has been for the political institutions to give direction to all the other institutions; and the end has not been reached. This domination of the political in history is well illustrated in the achievements of the persons whom we designate as "great". Let me mention their names. They are Alexander, Gregory, Ivan, Peter, Charles, Frederick, and Alfred. All these received their title for political activity except one, namely, Gregory; and he was almost as active in political as in strictly ecclesiastical affairs.

The word civic comes from "civicus", which means city; and citizen means a dweller in a city. Our word "politics" comes from the Greek word "polis", which means the affairs of a city. Thus it is seen that etymologically these terms carry the high school pupil back to the times when the city-states flourished. And it is just here that the civic value comes in. The pupil by being near the beginning of an institution has a chance to witness its growth or evolution. In order to secure time to study this evolution, I insist, as I did for the grades, that history or political science be placed in each year of the high school course. If the subject is not held before the pupil's mind a long time the evolution of institutions can not be traced; writers and teachers will then resort to the expedient of stuffing the mind with historical facts. The result is that there is no civic nourishment extracted, and historical, mental dyspepsia sets in and finally becomes chronic. These writers and teachers usually designate their work as highly patriotic. I presume you will agree with me that history should neither be written nor taught as some Sunday School tales are written and taught, namely, to point a moral. The pupil resents continual pointing of a moral. History may and usually does convey a moral, but the moral should educe itself from a proper presentation of facts; and a proper presentation requires time. A great teacher once said: "You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." But the truth is not necessarily the truth to the pupil unless the writer and teacher have the time and opportunity to make the truth significant. The most important topics should be given with sufficient detail to make them interesting.

Let me illustrate what I mean by the use of history in teaching civic evolution.

1. *The State.* Philosophers differ as to the origin of the state, but the high school pupil can easily see the rudimentary state with its patriarchal and tribal organ-

ization; then the aristocratic and manorial system; finally the national, monarchical and democratic-republican, constitutional state. The word "civic" takes its origin in the science of municipal government — the period when all citizens took part immediately in the government, the period when citizenship was a higher notion than manhood, the classical period — when the relation to the state was the highest of human relationships. The high school pupil can readily comprehend the necessity for the Roman city-state to become the Roman country-state; the one with immediate government, and the other in due course of time becoming a national country-state. This leads me to say, with Burgess, that civic content has been widened to include not only the science of government but the science of sovereignty and liberty as well. The pupil can be led to see that it has taken centuries of experience and conflict about race, language, traditions, custom, literature, ethics, and philosophy to evolve a consensus of opinion and give these concrete, objective realization in civic forms. If the pupil has made a careful study of the foregoing principles, it is easy for him to grasp the fundamental conception of a definition of a present-day, national, constitutional state. Such a definition would include the following: (1) the people politically organized; (2) a definite territory as the theater for the people's activities; (3) a government which is the agent of the state; (4) laws which are made either directly by the people, such as the constitution or statutes made by the initiative and referendum process, or indirectly by the people's representatives; and (5) independence of all outside political control. These may be studied as an historical process and movement. Indeed, they themselves are largely the very essence or flower and fruitage of history.

2. *The Use of History Made by the Framers of our American Constitution.* In the midst of the American

Revolution, the people engaged in discussions of political theory and the making of constitutions. The political theory is gathered up in the Declaration of Independence, but it is mainly the direct product of history, especially English political history. Its political theory announces the following: (1) the doctrine of equality before the laws; (2) doctrine of natural rights; (3) objects of government; (4) source of government; and (5) doctrine of revolution. All these find their explanation in and their evolution from the Magna Charta and its thirty-nine confirmations, together with the Petition of Right of 1628 and the Bill of Rights of 1688 and the writings of certain political philosophers, such as Locke and Hobbes.

For the State Constitutions our political fathers depended mainly on the guild and colonial charters; for the Articles of Confederation they consciously and definitely copied the Dutch, Swiss, and German confederacies. Each of these confederacies had a diet of one chamber. The component parts of each confederacy had an equal voice or one vote. In each the central government was weak and the State government strong. Here we have a definite use of history, as our Articles of Confederation provided a government which was almost the exact counterpart of these European confederacies. In the making of our present Federal Constitution, Madison gathered a voluminous library on the history of confederate and federal constitutions. Our present Constitution, which provides a federal form of government, is largely the product of this historical study, modified by actual political experience in the Colonies and the early State Constitutions.

The Bills of Rights in the American Constitutions have been carefully garnered, chiefly out of English history. It was to secure a sphere of individual liberty that provision was made for freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of religion, freedom of association, free-

dom of person and property; the right of the privilege of habeas corpus, speedy and impartial jury trial, no excessive bail, no double jeopardy or cruel punishment; also that there should be no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* laws. These are dull and uninteresting if presented in the Constitution and isolated from their true historical perspective, but they may be made to glow with interest and enthusiasm when studied in their true historical or social setting.

3. *Poor Use of History Made by the Leaders of the Southern Confederacy.* The leaders of the Southern Confederacy ran counter to the inevitable teaching of history: (1) they made war on a strong, resourceful people that outnumbered them two to one; (2) they undertook to divide the country where there is no natural or geographical barrier; and (3) they attempted to reverse the general tendencies of a thousand years and divide instead of unite. Great Britain, France, and Spain had been united from petty kingdoms; in 1848 the Swiss cantons formed a republic and Austria and Hungary were united; Japan was forming a central government; the South American peoples were drawing together; and the forces were then active that immediately after our Civil War united to form the German Empire, the Kingdom of Italy, and the Dominion of Canada.

I have mentioned these three examples in order to show what may be done in arriving at some of the true civic value of history. Other examples have readily suggested themselves to your mind as they have been presented. If time permitted, it would be interesting to take up economic, diplomatic, military, and ecclesiastical history and show their civic or political bearings.

A large part of the civic value of history will come to the pupil indirectly through the pursuance of correct methods of work. The citizen should be a well-poised person with the ability to think straight. Therefore his-

tory should be taught in such a way as to develop the intellectual life to the highest point of efficiency.

For the great majority of high school pupils, the high school is the finishing school. Here they receive a large part of their civic training. The public school teacher of history has a splendid opportunity. It is here that the teacher, by pursuing correct methods, can bring home to the pupil the true civic value of history.

DISCUSSION

By R. M. Black

The definition and plan of history teaching given by the writer of the paper is an admirable one, but it is perhaps somewhat more ideal than actual. In most of our elementary schools it is difficult to find time for all the subjects demanded, and we are obliged to remember that "there are others". Many subjects call for their share of the time of the school.

In eighth grade history consideration of the great events of modern history is asked. The great currents of economic and political life in Europe since 1789 are so intricately involved that only a strong pupil can find his way through the maze. To go further than to give them such consideration as will furnish the proper setting for American history would be to involve the pupil beyond his depth. Modern European history belongs to a period of the high school when considerable maturity of judgment has been obtained.

Emphasis on the institutional life of a people is the correct attitude. Emphasis is sometimes placed upon the wrong side. The annals of kings may be the easiest order of treatment, but kings present very few lessons for the student of to-day. The roar of musketry and the winning of laurels may hold the attention, but history for the common man needs very little of the heroic, except as it may reënforce the story of real life.

The purpose of history teaching is found in its results. Like other subjects, it must justify its presence in the curriculum. History should be a vocational study. In the grades history should be a preparation for the

courses in the social sciences which are to come later as well as a functional study. Every student of history should be a better citizen as a result of his study, or his time has been lost. In the high school and beyond, history study may be more special and minute, and should be largely vocational. It should always be a "live subject" wherever taught.

In the State School of Science, where the entire aim is vocational and where every subject studied must justify itself by meeting some definite need, the common question is: "What is there in history for me?" The practical turn it takes is shown by the questions of every day interest that constantly come up in the recitation. Two topics to illustrate this came up in the study of rate regulation and the interstate commerce legislation of 1886. One question was: "When making a trip to Chicago, why is it cheaper to buy a ticket from Wahpeton to St. Paul, and then at St. Paul buy the ticket to Chicago, than it would be to buy the ticket from Wahpeton to Chicago?" The other was: "What is the Meridian Road, and what relation has it in the national system of roads?" Perhaps these are hardly the questions that others would encourage; but we live in the present. Why should the student think only in terms of the past?

The interpretation of history may sound like a deep subject, but any class may easily understand the significance of historical movements. Perhaps the teachers of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association have the best opportunity for interpretation in the consideration of the meaning of the West in our national history. The West has been the vanguard in most of the great progressive movements of the nation. Its influence threw the balance of power to the side of the Union in the War between the States, and its expanding frontier life kept alive the spirit of American freedom and equality before the law. Another series of interpretations is to be found

in the successive stages of growth in territory. This country with its marvelous natural resources and its possibilities was unfolded to a people who could use it for true advancement, and only so much of it at a time as could be occupied and cared for by the people who were possessing it. The Spaniard in his eagerness to despoil could not find its riches. The Dutch and French had to give way to a sturdier race, and the English themselves were kept to the Eastern Coast until they became strong enough to occupy the great Central Valley. The great plains were available for settlement only after a people had learned its strength and were prepared to assimilate the multitudes from the old world. The gold of California was hidden until the nation had become sufficiently mighty to defend its possession and develop its mines. As soon as needed by the new nation gold in lavish measure was found in the grass roots in the very region trod by the greedy Spaniard. The wealth of the soil, far exceeding the wealth of gold, is only being appreciated by a nation of people who have reached the period of pioneering where the settler is willing to remain on his homestead.

There are at least three well marked lines of power to be expected from the study of history. There is high civic value in each line. First, there is the line of statesmanship. The participation in constitution-making requires a thorough knowledge of history. From no other source can the lessons of the past be obtained. But only a very few in each generation have the privilege of helping to frame the organic law of a Commonwealth.

In the second place, the study of history affords excellent training for citizenship. These lessons from the past should be learned by everybody. Here results may be expected. History is not a guide to moral and civic conduct, but nevertheless valuable lessons may be obtained. At least the student of history should appreciate

some things which should be avoided. Napoleon III came to the French throne by the same tricks which were used by his illustrious uncle. The old issues settled by the War between the States have disappeared and should receive no consideration in the policies of the present day. Of course the unscrupulous demagogue may learn his lessons from history, but that fact only shows the possibilities found in the study of the past.

The third line of power is found in that history helps the student to an appreciation of the brotherhood of man. The humanizing element is a great factor. The life of the race passes in review and that life is only the antecedent of present life. The gladiatorial combat of ancient Rome has its modern expression in the prize fight of Johnson and Jeffries. The corruption in political life exhibited by Jugurtha and Verres is repeated in modern politics. The virtues and grandeur of the ancient peoples may also be emulated to-day. History should lead to no blind hero worship, but the student should be a better citizen because his acquaintance with the past makes him a better man.

History is the story of the uplift of the race, the vision of humanity. Duruy writes: "Humanity that tireless traveler advances unceasingly over vale and hill, to-day on the heights, tomorrow in the valley, in darkness and danger, but always advancing, and attaining by slow degrees and weary efforts some broad plateau where he pauses a moment to rest and take breath". The constructive study of history has great civic value. Without drawing or enforcing moral lessons, the study of history may provide an atmosphere of applied ethics, because history is the life of man; more than that, it is life.

METHODS IN HISTORY TEACHING

By Mary Eleanor Peters

Having derived much valuable assistance from the articles in the *Proceedings*, both as to source work and as to presentation of subjects in class, I am offering to others some of the methods which I have found productive of satisfactory results, in the hope that I may be able to help others as I have been helped.

As Head of the History Department in my school, I am called upon to teach eight years of history — a course which includes mythology, Texas, Grecian, Roman, English, American, oriental, medieval and modern history; and a weekly class in sacred history which covers the Four Centuries of Silence. In addition to the text-book and the theme work required by such a course, I have adopted the plan of familiarizing the classes with contemporary literature by the expedient of requiring in answer to roll-call a quotation from the work of some writer connected with the period under discussion.

For example, my English history class, studying the reign of George I, answers roll-call with a quotation from the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and a gist of at least one of the letters. Other sources, according to period, are Chaucer's *Prologue*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, *Hudibras*, Milton's shorter poems, Pepys, the De Coverley Papers, *Robinson Crusoe*, and so forth. Scott and his contemporaries, as well as his successors in the Victorian Era, are represented by the names of their most important works and a character from each, while the poets of the period are identified by their most noted poems. In Grecian history, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes are quoted, as are Homer, Pin-

dar, Anacreon, and others. In Roman history the students become acquainted with Cæsar, Cicero, and the Augustan poets through their works. American history, of course, furnishes a great variety of interests, including the *Bay Psalm Book*, the *New England Primer*, and *Poor Richard*; while in oriental history they greatly enjoy the selections from the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Hebrew literatures. They are expected to memorize the poetical quotations, but are permitted to read those which are in prose.

I find that this method stimulates interest in history, makes it a living reality rather than a valley of dry bones, and encourages a discussion of events, characters, and periods which might otherwise make little lasting impression. In many cases it also infuses greater interest into their study of Latin, when I emphasize the fact that in reading Latin they are not merely learning the grammatical constructions of a dead language, but are reading history and poetry in the very words of the persons who have made history and literature, and from whom the material of their text-books is derived.

It is true that with a very large class such a system might not be practical for frequent use if time is short. There are about forty students in my largest class; consequently the quotations and attendant discussions sometimes take up the full recitation time, but this is made up on another day when there are no quotations to learn. I consider that the interest aroused and the permanent impression obtained are more than adequate compensation for the time taken. This method also arouses interest in books, and I often find my students reading more than the assigned lesson in books which they might never otherwise know. Shakespeare's historical plays are used in the period which they cover; and such plays as *Twelfth Night, Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Midsummer Night's Dream* find a place in the Elizabethan Era.

Even when I have assigned no quotations, the roll-call forms an important feature of each day's work, for I frequently use it in a rapid review, announcing, for example, that each student will answer with the name of some person or place in the Stuart Period, or the Period of the Punic Wars; the Battles of the Revolution; Latin terms in Roman history; women of such and such a period; and so forth. Such a practice has the added advantage of giving every member of the class an opportunity for daily recitation either on the new lesson or on the review.

It is a day of rejoicing and enthusiasm for all my classes when without a word of warning I announce a quiz. I conduct my quizzes in the following manner: For each definite period of the history studied, I prepare a great number of typewritten slips bearing the name of some person, place, term, building, date, book from which they have quoted, catch-question, and so forth. These I place in a long manila envelope bearing the name of the subject and marked "Unanswered". This is passed around the class, each student drawing a slip at random. As these are answered they are placed in a corresponding envelope marked "Answered", thus avoiding all confusion or duplication and making it possible for me to file all the quizzes as in a card catalogue. I have these reviews very frequently, and, as I have said, I give no previous warning. I find that they fix events and data in the minds of the students in a most gratifying manner. The students enjoy these tests exceedingly and often ask for them. The following are some examples of the slips: "Veni, vidi, vici"; "The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street"; Lady Rebecca; Jerusalem Chamber; Luxor; Bonny Dundee; Excalibur; Venerable Bede; Lucretia; Hiawatha; The Alamo; Illyrian Pirates; Pheidippides; and so on, according to the history studied by each class. The subjects are taken at random, and it is understood that catch-questions are fair in these oral quizzes.

In addition to these working methods, I have always on hand, and posted for reference, lists of historical fiction illustrating each period, and these I recommend strongly in connection with each day's work. If I fail to give the lists, the students are sure to ask for them, and they seldom leave on vacation without a complete list for summer reading.

I have used these methods for a number of years and find them not only practical but inspiring. Each year the classes seem to get more out of their work and to apply the work of the previous year more thoughtfully as a result of having had the facts impressed on the students in ways which prove entertaining as well as instructive. The students' fund of general information is also materially increased, and each year I find that they learn and profit by the maxim from Hamilton Wright Mabie's *Norse Stories*, which I write on the board in red chalk and keep constantly before their eyes throughout the year: "It is better to remain ignorant than to possess knowledge and not live by it."

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1914-1915

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1914-15

VOLUME VIII

EDITED BY

MILO M. QUAIFE

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITOR'S PREFACE

For seven years, from the birth of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association until the present time, Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, has edited the *Proceedings* of the Association. Having at length resigned from the editorship, in response to the pressure of more urgent duties, the present editor has consented for a year to assume the burden laid down by Professor Shambaugh. Only those engaged in like work will realize how greatly the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in particular, and the world of historical scholarship in general, are indebted to Professor Shambaugh for his efficient and generous editorial service.

The present volume covers the transactions of the Association from the close of the sixth annual meeting in 1914 to the close of the seventh annual meeting in 1915. Two meetings of the Association were held during this period, a mid-year meeting at Chicago at the time of the session of the American Historical Association, and the seventh annual meeting of the Association at New Orleans, April 22-24, 1915. Several of the papers and addresses delivered at these meetings have been published elsewhere, or, for various reasons, have not been furnished the editor. Except for these the present volume includes all of the papers, addresses before, and reports to, the Association during the year it covers.

The work of preparing the copy for the printer and of seeing it through the press has been shared by Lydia M. Brauer, of the editorial staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The index has been compiled by Louise Phelps Kellogg, also of the Society's staff.

M. M. Quaife

Madison, Wisconsin

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

I — NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

II — OBJECT

The object of the Association shall be to promote historical study and research and to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi Valley.

III — MEMBERSHIP

Membership in this Association shall be divided into three classes, namely: active, sustaining, and life members. Any one interested in the study of Mississippi Valley history may become a member in any of these classes upon payment of the dues hereinafter provided.

IV — OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall be a president, two vice-presidents, and a secretary-treasurer, who with six other active members, and such ex-presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee. Providing that all ex-presidents who have served on the Executive Committee for six consecutive years shall from and after that time no longer be ex officio members of the Executive Committee.

All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified, providing, however, that at the first election held hereunder two members of the Ex-

ecutive Committee shall be elected for one year, two for two years, and two for three years, and that hereafter two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually to hold office for three years; the Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

V — MEETINGS

A regular annual meeting and a mid-year meeting of the Association shall be held on such dates and at such places as the Executive Committee may determine.

VI — DUES

The annual dues for individual active members shall be one dollar. The annual dues for library members shall be two dollars. Sustaining members — either individuals or institutions — shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of fifty dollars.

VII — AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at a previous meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Committee.

OFFICERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1914-15

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Professor of History, University of Cincinnati

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Dean of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota

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Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin

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In addition to above-named officers

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE TEACHERS' SECTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1914-15

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University of Wisconsin

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION APRIL 22-24, 1915

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION APRIL 22-24, 1915

The eighth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at New Orleans, Louisiana, April 22-24, 1915. A program was presented which was very creditable to the committee which arranged it, and the attendance was all that the most hopeful could have expected. The social features of the meeting did credit to the hospitality of the entertainers and contributed much to the enjoyment of those members who found it possible to attend.

Most of the members in attendance from the North met at Memphis on the morning of April 21 and traveled together to Jackson, Mississippi, where they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Dunbar Rowland of the Department of Archives and History. After spending some time in the offices, library, and museum of the department they were entertained at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Rowland, where they were afforded the opportunity of meeting many prominent people of Jackson. In the late evening the journey was continued to New Orleans. On the return trip many of these northern visitors, under the guidance of Dr. Rowland, visited at Natchez and Vicksburg.

Convention headquarters were maintained at the Hotel Grunewald in New Orleans and the sessions were held at the Hotel, the Cabildo, and at Gibson Hall, Tulane University.

FIRST SESSION

The first session was held at 10 o'clock A. M., Thursday, April 22, at the Hotel Grunewald. The meeting was

called to order by William Beer. An invocation was offered by Rev. A. O. Brown, who then led the audience in singing "America." Mr. Beer then introduced President Isaac J. Cox who took the chair. President Robert Sharp of Tulane University delivered an informal address of welcome. The first paper on the program was by William E. Dunn of the University of Texas. His subject was "Spanish Reaction against the French Advance toward New Mexico." A paper by H. S. Halbert of the Alabama Department of Archives and History entitled "Shatala. Notes on a Chickasaw Town Name," was read by title, as was also the paper on the "Beginnings of West Florida," by Clarence E. Carter of Miami University. Miss Elizabeth Howard West of the Carnegie Library, San Antonio, Texas, was to have read a paper on "The Indian Policy of Bernardo de Galvez," but owing to her absence the paper was read by title. Another important paper also read by title was by Wilbur H. Siebert of Ohio State University, on the subject, "The Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District." The session was concluded with the paper of H. H. Maurer of Sophie Newcomb College on "Foreign Influence in American History and Politics."

At 1:30 o'clock, P. M., the delegates and visitors were taken in carriages to the City Hall where they were received by Mayor Martin Behrman and members of the city commission in the mayor's parlors. After a short address of welcome by the mayor, which was responded to by President Cox, refreshments were served and an hour was spent in social intercourse.

SECOND SESSION

At 2:30 o'clock, P. M., the second session convened at the Cabildo. In the absence of Gov. Earl Brewer, who was to have presided, the chair was occupied by President Cox. Before beginning the regular program the

president announced the appointment of the following committees:

Resolutions — St. George L. Sioussat, Nashville, Tennessee, Charles Moore, Detroit, Michigan, and William E. Dunn, Austin, Texas.

Auditing — William O. Hart, New Orleans, Louisiana, Luther A. Brewer, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and William E. Connelley, Topeka, Kansas.

Nominations — Clarence W. Alvord, Urbana, Illinois, William Beer, New Orleans, Louisiana, and James E. Winston, Oxford, Mississippi.

The paper of John Wilson Townsend, Lexington, Kentucky, "Horace Holley, LL.D. The Third President of Old Transylvania," was read by title. Miss Stella Herron of the New Orleans Normal School read a paper on "The African Apprentice Bill." The paper on "The Vigilance Committees of the Attakapas Country, or Early Louisiana Justice," by Henry L. Griffin of Southwestern Louisiana Industrial Institute, was read by title. A paper on "The Attitude of the Newspapers of the United States toward Texan Independence," by James E. Winston of the University of Mississippi, followed. The session was concluded with a paper on "Memphis as a Gateway of the West, a Study in Transportation," by St. George L. Sioussat of Vanderbilt University.

THIRD SESSION

The third session convened at the Cabildo at 8 o'clock P. M. This was a joint session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Louisiana Historical Society, with President Gaspar Cusachs of the Louisiana Historical Society presiding. The program opened with the annual address of President Cox on "The New Invasion of the Goths and Vandals." "A Note on the Organization of the Oldest School for Girls in the Mississippi Valley," by Miss Caroline Francis Richardson of

Sophie Newcomb College, and a paper on "The Black Code," by James J. McLoughlin of New Orleans, concluded the evening program. James Alton James of Northwestern University, who was to have read a paper on "New Orleans and the First Years of the American Revolution" was unavoidably absent.

Following the program a smoker was held at the Round Table Club for members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, while the visiting ladies were entertained by the ladies of the Southern Women's Economic and Political Association at Sophie Newcomb College.

FOURTH SESSION

The session was called to order at 9 o'clock A. M., Friday, April 23, at the Cabildo, President Isaac J. Cox presiding. The first paper was read by Archer B. Hulbert of Marietta College, on "Yankee Shipbuilding on the Ohio before the Embargo." A paper by George Byron Merrick, on "Joseph Reynolds and the Diamond Jo Line Steamers, 1862-1911" was read by title. William O. Scroggs of the Louisiana State University presented a paper on "Rural Life in the Lower Mississippi Valley about 1803." The regular program was concluded with a paper by Melvin J. White of Tulane University on "Louisiana and the Secession Movement in the Early Fifties."

The regular business of the Association was then taken up. The report of the secretary-treasurer was first presented and on motion of Clarence W. Alvord was adopted. Under the head of reports of committees William H. Shepard, chairman of the Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum, reported that the committee had been slowly assembling data on the subject but that the material gathered was not sufficient to make a report. He stated that many schools had failed to report but that tangible results were con-

fidently expected. He asked to have the committee continued and promised a report later.

Chairman James F. Willard of the Committee on The Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities wrote that the report of his committee was about ready for final revision but could not be completed in time for this meeting.

The report of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History was put over until Saturday forenoon to be presented at the meeting of the Teachers' Section.

A report of the Committee on the Administration of Historical Societies, by Chairman O. G. Libby, was presented by William E. Connelley, a member of the committee, as follows:

The Committee on Administration of Historical Societies submits the following brief report of progress. In response to a questionnaire replies from fourteen states indicate great diversity in statutory provision and in the application of law to local needs. The majority of the historical societies responding to the inquiry have a greater or less connection with the state administration and a considerable number have in addition some affiliation with the state university. A few of the long-established historical societies have worked out a satisfactory plan of administration and of affiliation with various state activities. From the majority of the states, however, the replies indicate that their present status is uncertain and there seems to be no prospect for improvement.

A fair proportion of the historical societies seem to have adjusted themselves to the local needs and are serving their constituencies in a manner that promises well for the future. Your committee desire to recommend the following:

1. That a report be prepared indicating the most generally successful form of organization for a historical society, giving in detail the reasons for and against the various features suggested.

2. That the lines of activity at present followed by the older and more successful historical societies be presented in

concise form with reasons for choice of field in each case. For those societies yet undecided as to their line of activity or who have not sufficient funds, this presentation might serve as a suggestion and possibly as an inspiration. Such a report might also bring about coöperation of neighboring states in some common problems of research or of publication.

Your committee desires to add that a very considerable mass of information has been collected covering the whole field of administration. It is the hope of its chairman that much of this may find its way into the next report of the committee.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

The Committee on the Standardization of Historical Society Publications through its chairman, Dunbar Rowland, reported progress.

William E. Connelley, a member of the Committee on Historic Sites, presented a preliminary report of that committee signed by the chairman, Orin G. Libby, as follows:

Your committee submit the following preliminary report and suggest action on the recommendations appended thereto:

A questionnaire was sent to twenty-four of the states in the Mississippi Valley and a very considerable number of replies was received. The activity of the states with reference to the preservation of historic sites varies too greatly to admit of the drawing of any conclusions of service to the Association. It is apparent, however, that there is an excellent opportunity here to coöperate effectively for the promotion of better work in the future. Your committee recommend the following policy to be adopted by the Association and to be carried out by the Committee on Historic Sites, as far as practicable.

1. That each state develop a central agency for the creation of state parks and reserves and for the preservation and marking of historic sites, this agency to be vested by law with general supervision of this entire field and receive such state aid as may be deemed adequate.

2. That the committee be authorized to use the following open letter for the securing of greater accuracy in the placing of inscriptions upon historic monuments and markers and that

it be authorized to appoint such subcommittees as may be necessary to carry out the general suggestion herein contained:

The Historic Sites Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association invites your coöperation in extending the interest in the preservation of historic sites and in accurately locating and marking them. We especially desire to enlist your aid in selection and preparation of correct inscriptions upon the monuments and markers erected within your state.

Are you intending to erect a memorial commemorating some historic event in early state or territorial history? If so, we should be glad to render you such assistance as lies in our power, either by consulting the records for exact information as to dates and events and for the spelling of names or by verifying locations and other geographical facts which are quite essential elements in the value of any memorial. Do you know of any resident in your state who is intending in the near future to erect any marker, statue, or other memorial upon a historic site? If so will you kindly send us his name and address? Will you favor us with the names and addresses of the president and secretary of such local organizations as are interested in the work of locating and marking historic sites? Thus in time a permanent directory for the whole Mississippi Valley will be compiled, giving the detailed information necessary for the coördination of so important an interstate movement. Your assistance is earnestly requested in making this undertaking a working reality.

3. That the committee be instructed to secure from the various states represented in this Association suggestions as to feasible lines of interstate coöperation such as is admirably illustrated by the recent marking of the Santa Fé Trail.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

It was moved and seconded that the report be adopted and the recommendations of the committee be approved. After an informal discussion, participated in by William O. Hart, Gaspar Cusachs, St. George L. Sioussat, Archer B. Hulbert, and others, it was moved by Mr. Hart as a substitute, that the general scheme outlined be approved but that the work proposed be carried on pri-

marily by the state historical societies, state departments of archives, or other similar organizations. A motion to adopt the substitute was seconded and carried.

William O. Hart for the La Salle Memorial Association reported that it had been impossible to secure the attendance of a quorum at the meeting of the committee and requested that the committee be continued; and that the Association authorize four members of such committee to act as a quorum. It was moved and seconded that four members of the committee of the La Salle Memorial Association should constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. Carried.

Clarence W. Alvord reported informally for the Publication Committee and the Board of Editors of the *Review*.

Edward C. Page presented a letter which had been received by the Secretary from Charles D. Hazen, chairman of the Program Committee of the American Historical Association as follows:

April 17, 1915.

My dear Mr. Paine:

I am in receipt of copy of the resolutions adopted by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on December 31, 1914, urging a Teachers' Conference at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington next December. The Committee on Program is of the opinion that such a conference is desirable, and that a good subject for consideration would be the request of the College Entrance Examination Board for a more precise definition of the history requirement. This question is under consideration by the committee of the American Historical Association, of which Professor Ferguson is chairman. The same subject is being handled by a committee of the Middle States and Maryland History Teachers' Association; also by a committee of the New England History Teachers' Association, and also, I understand, by a committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The subject is manifestly one of very general interest and of the first importance. We should, of course, have both college and high-school teachers in the dis-

cussion. I am writing to ask if your Association would be willing to select two persons to participate in such a joint conference.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES D. HAZEN

Mr. Page moved that President Cox be authorized to name two members to participate in the joint conference proposed. Motion seconded and carried.

President Cox appointed Wayland J. Chase, Madison, Wisconsin, and Eugene M. Violette, Kirksville, Missouri. Mr. Chase being unable to serve, Mr. Cox later appointed Henry E. Bourne, Cleveland, Ohio.

On motion of Clarence W. Alvord the following pending amendment to the Constitution was adopted:

Resolved, That paragraph one of Article IV of the Constitution be amended by the addition of the following words:

"Providing that all ex-presidents who have served on the Executive Committee for six consecutive years shall from and after that time no longer be ex officio members of the Executive Committee."

The report of the Auditing Committee was then presented by William O. Hart, chairman, as follows:

April 23, 1915.

We have examined the books and vouchers of C. S. Paine, treasurer of the Association and business manager of the *Review*, and find the same correct, and we desire to compliment the treasurer on the neatness with which his accounts have been kept.

Respectfully submitted,
WILLIAM O. HART, *chairman*
LUTHER A. BREWER
WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was presented by Chairman St. George L. Sioussat, as follows:

We, the officers and members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, assembled in the eighth annual meeting of the Association, felicitate ourselves upon the good fortune which has led us to the city of New Orleans. Nature has been kind,

welcoming us to the Southland with bright skies and cool breezes. The arrangement of our activities has mingled with occasions for serious work opportunities for visiting places of especial historic interest in this historic city, and repeated manifestation of that charm in social entertainment which has ever marked the citizens of New Orleans. In all these plans we recognize the thoughtful care of the several committees which have arranged the program of this meeting and have had in charge our entertainment and our comfort; and both to the ladies and to the gentlemen who have thus freely given their time and their labor we make our respectful and grateful acknowledgments. We wish also to express our appreciation of the cordial welcome given to us by the chief executive of the city of New Orleans.

To the president and members of the Louisiana Historical Society we render especial acknowledgment for their kind invitation to hold this meeting in New Orleans, for their interest in our joint session, and for the polite attention of members of the Society in guiding us in our walk in the Vieux Carre.

For further manifestations of hospitality we thank the Tulane University, the Sophie Newcomb College, and the Boston Club. To the president and members of the Round Table Club we are indebted for a delightful evening's entertainment, as also to the ladies of the Southern Woman's Economic and Political Association, and to those of Tulane University. We thank the Board of Dock Commissioners for a most interesting and refreshing trip on the river and the opportunity to observe the wonderful harbor facilities of New Orleans.

We cannot conclude these resolutions without including, also, a word of acknowledgment of the courtesies extended to those members of the Association who have journeyed from the upper part of the Mississippi Valley by the Department of Archives and History of the state of Mississippi.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT, *chairman*
W. E. DUNN
CHARLES MOORE

On motion the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Clarence W. Alvord proposed the following resolution and moved its adoption:

Whereas, It seems unadvisable to establish in this Association the policy of elevating to the presidency the vice-presidents; therefore be it

Resolved, That in future those persons who have been elected vice-presidents of the Association shall be ineligible to the office of president until after two years shall have elapsed from the close of their period of service.

After some discussion, participated in by Mr. Alvord, William O. Hart, and others, the resolution was adopted.

Chairman Clarence W. Alvord then presented the report of the Nominating Committee recommending for:

President, Dunbar Rowland; first vice-president, St. George L. Sioussat; second vice-president, Charles Moore; secretary-treasurer, Clarence S. Paine; members of the Executive Committee for a term of three years, Melvin J. White and James F. Willard.

Luther A. Brewer moved that the report of the committee be adopted, that the rules be suspended, and that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot for the nominees of the committee. The motion was seconded and carried. The ballot being cast, President Cox declared the foregoing elected to the offices and for the terms named.

Gaspar Cusachs offered the following resolution for the amendment of the Constitution:

Resolved, That article VI of the Constitution be amended to read:

"The annual dues for individual or library members shall be three dollars. Sustaining members — either individuals or institutions — shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of fifty dollars."

On motion the resolution was referred to the Executive Committee.

William O. Hart presented to the Association a photograph of the historic Pakenham house, which was accepted by President Cox.

Upon the conclusion of the business session members

and visitors were escorted over old New Orleans by members of the Louisiana Historical Society, and at 2 o'clock, P. M., were the guests of the local committee on a river excursion. Returning at 4 o'clock, tea was served to visiting ladies at Sophie Newcomb College from 4 to 6 o'clock, P. M.

At 8 o'clock a reception to visiting members was held at the library of Tulane University. This reception proved so interesting that the evening program was entirely dispensed with, partly owing to the fact that the principal speaker of the evening, Gen. John Lee Webster, was unable to be present.

SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Held at the Cabildo, New Orleans, 9 o'clock, A. M., April 24, 1915)

At a called meeting of the Executive Committee held at the Cabildo, 9 o'clock, A. M., April 24, there were present, Isaac J. Cox, Clarence W. Alvord, William Beer, William E. Connelley, Melvin J. White, Charles Moore, St. George L. Sioussat, and, by invitation, Luther A. Brewer. After a statement by Mr. Alvord, and upon his recommendation, it was unanimously voted to allow the secretary the sum of $500 annually as business manager of the *Review*, to be paid out of any funds available, provided, however, that there shall be no individual responsibility for such payment.

On motion Clarence W. Alvord, James A. James, and Walter L. Fleming were unanimously reëlected as members of the Board of Editors of the *Review* for a term of three years.

FIFTH SESSION

Teachers' Section

The session convened at the Cabildo at 9:30 o'clock, A. M. In the absence of Chairman Karl F. Geiser, President Cox of the Association presided. Before tak-

ing up the regular program Chairman Cox appointed the following as the Nominating Committee of the Teachers' Section: Walter L. Fleming, Miss Stella Herron, and Clarence S. Paine. The first paper was by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., of the Louisiana State University "Recent History: To What Extent to the Exclusion of Other History?" "Guarding our Future History" was the subject of a paper by Alfred D. St. Amant of the Louisiana State Normal School. Edward C. Page of the Northern Illinois State Normal School told "How the Museum of History Works." The formal program was concluded by Frederick V. Emerson of the Louisiana State University, whose subject was "Geographic Influences in the Mississippi Valley." All of these papers were quite generally but informally discussed.

The Committee on Nominations for officers of the Teachers' Section reported as follows:

For chairman, Oliver M. Dickerson, Winona, Minnesota; for secretary, Howard C. Hill, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; for members of the Executive Committee for a term of three years, Miss Stella Herron, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Jonas Viles, Columbia, Missouri.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted, and the foregoing be elected to the offices and for the terms named. Carried.

The report of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History, formulated by Wayland J. Chase, chairman, was presented by St. George L. Sioussat, a member of the Committee, who reviewed its work and gave a synopsis of the report, which is printed in full herewith:

The report of Professor Paxson's Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History, presented at Omaha, May 8, 1913 (*History Teacher's Magazine*, June, 1913, 169), having reviewed the general aspects of the question as to what the content of the college course of the prospective teacher of history should be, asserts that the training of the high-school

teacher of history should be directed by a college of liberal arts and that the mastery of his subject is the prime necessity of the prospective teacher; that specific training for his teaching should be confined to the later years of the college course; and that courses for this training should include psychology, the history and theory of education, and school administration. With regard to the amount and sort of work that the mastery of the subject requires the report declares that from twenty-five to forty points of a total of 120 may be asked for history studies, so distributed that twelve shall be given to general survey courses, of which one shall be in American history, and about twenty to advanced courses. Further, it affirms that the training of the teacher of history should include a course directed to the study of the special problems that the teaching of history in the high school presents, with a credit value of from two to four points. To our committee was delegated the enquiry as to what this special course on methods of teaching history in the high school shall consist of.

The warrant for such departmental teachers' courses is obviously in the fact that the different high-school subjects present each its own teaching problems, with which it is essential that the student teacher become acquainted and to which he must be taught to apply effectively the principles and the accepted theories of education. Such courses for prospective teachers would, it is believed, find justification whenever and wherever a trained body of high-school teachers was deemed necessary to society. At this time it seems especially essential that all that the experience of generations of teachers can give toward the equipment of the novice should be given, since statistics show that the great bulk of the instruction of high-school pupils is given by teachers who gain for themselves but slight experience of teaching, the professional life of the average high-school teacher being limited to but a few years. There is, indeed, even more truth than humor in the recent characterization of teaching in the high school as "a procession rather than a profession."

Our committee feels strongly the folly of expecting that the teaching problems of the high school can be interpreted and met in these courses by instructors who have not had first-hand

experience with them and so we declare our conviction that there is no element of content of teachers' training courses so important as the teaching experience of the instructor who gives the course; and it is, therefore, urged as of paramount importance that only those be appointed to this work who can bring to it mature experience in teaching in and close acquaintance with the problems of the high school.

These teachers' courses are not primarily designed to extend the knowledge of the student about the subject of his major or minor study. All the time of a two-credit semester course is needed to achieve the aim of imparting knowledge of method and giving facility in the use of it, yet it would be a mistake to think that those who receive the university teacher's certificate do not need strengthening in the field of knowledge of their subject. Most of the courses which they have been required to take in the university in their major subject, history, are in sections of the field far remote from the high-school divisions of the subject, and do not afford close acquaintance with the high-school material and field. The expectation that because of the power gained from such courses the novice at teaching can acquire the necessary intimacy with the high-school aspects of his subject progressively as he teaches it is often not fulfilled because school systems commonly require of him six or seven recitations a day, some of them in subjects for which slight or no preparation has been had. There are lacking, therefore, to the teacher working under these conditions, both time and strength to get, concurrently with his teaching, the knowledge he needs. It is believed, therefore, that sooner or later the need must be recognized of supplementing this course on methods by the addition of another which shall give students at the end of their senior year a closer acquaintance with the content and material of the high-school field of the subject, both as to textbook and collateral reading.

Though teaching is an art and methods must vary with the individual teacher, yet the following are judged to be elements essential to every course in method:

I. Consideration of those topics a knowledge of which gives the prospective teacher his bearings in his special field of teaching. These would include: (1) the

values of his subject as a high-school study; (2) the place to which it is entitled in the curriculum; (3) the definition of the content and scope of the high-school units of the subject, and the relation of history in the high school to history in the grades; (4) the aims of the teacher of the subject; (5) the endeavor to inculcate proper ideals as to effort and achievement on the part of the high-school pupils.

II. Consideration of method of teaching history, which would include the examination of the special problems presented and the application to them of the accepted theories of teaching. Observation work would have its special service here.

III. The acquainting of the prospective teacher with the special tools which are required for the teaching of this subject.

IV. The giving the prospective teacher practice in applying this theory and handling these tools, this practice being distinct from, though preliminary to, whatever practice teaching with high-school pupils may be provided.

V. Practice work, that is, directed teaching of pupils of high-school age.

The agencies used to achieve these ends would be: (1) lectures; (2) study of a textbook, such as the *Report of the Committee of Seven*, together with the *Report of the Committee of Five*, or Bourne's *The Teaching of History and Civics*; (3) reading as suggested by accompanying list, aggregating 1,000 pages; (4) student reports and class discussions; (5) observation of teaching; (6) practice work, including both the preparation of various sorts of recitation material and the conduct of recitations under guidance.

This course on method should be much more than a purveyor of information, exceedingly important though it is to put the prospective teacher into touch with the experience of generations of teachers. It should seek to kindle zeal for social service, of which teaching must be recognized as the most potent instrument. It should magnify the calling of teacher and exalt the values that the study of history possesses for the high-schoo

pupil: to the end that the teacher may take so seriously both his office and his task that he may have strong convictions respecting them and the courage of these convictions, and thus be both enlightened as to what high-school pupils may fairly be expected to do and steadfast in opposition to that not infrequent local opinion which would reduce pupil effort and industry to impotent terms.

In securing adequate effort from his pupils there are involved both quantity and quality of industry, and the prospective teacher must be brought to realize that his pupils must get from him both motive and guidance in the study of the history lesson. He must be made to see that for immature students the reading of history is not identical with nor equivalent to the study of history, and must therefore put into his assigning of the history lesson those features which shall make the assigned task clear, explicit, challenging, and thought-provoking. As the textbook is the chief basis of method for inexperienced teachers, instruction in the teacher's use of the textbook will, therefore, be an important element of the course, and as a feature of this instruction the students should be required to assign lessons, and these efforts should receive classroom consideration and discussion.

The paramount necessity of collateral reading for high-school pupils has been denied occasionally, but never successfully. Yet it is a feature of the work in which failure is very common. Careful instruction of the novice is needed here that he may see clearly the prerequisites of success for him in this field — first of all that he himself has the mastery of the material which he requires his pupils to read, and that he selects that which is really profitable for them; then that in making his requirements of his pupils in collateral reading he reckon duly with the time that he may rightfully require of them, their lack of experience in using books, the difficulties consequent upon a scarcity or relative inaccessibility of the books referred to, and the necessity of the utilization of such "follow-up" devices as shall secure that setting the task is followed by the performance of it. He should know what the most serviceable books for supplementary reading in the high school are, and should be required to get acquainted with these. The source-material side of this

supplementary reading should receive consideration in the course, to the end that its usefulness for illumination and vitalizing the subject and as basis for profitable study may be appreciated and turned to full account. Practice work in assigning illustrative lessons on such source material as the Declaration of Independence and the Magna Charta will aid in giving significance to these features of the course.

Geography's relation to history should receive consideration, and the course should seek to give the student acquaintance with the best available tools for pupil and teacher in this important field. So, too, in the field of illustrative material instruction should be given both as to what is available and most serviceable and how it may be used to the best advantage.

The general topic — the conduct of the recitation in history — presents many important aspects of study involved in the application to work in history of the general principles of education. Specific features of this are the possibilities of written work, including the uses of the blackboard; the special problems of method presented by special phases of the subject, e. g., military history, national finance, etc.; the uses of the pupil's notebook; recitation devices for securing variety and arousing fresh interest; the first recitations of the new year — their special problems and opportunities.

Directed observation by the students of successful teachers as they conduct recitations is considered an important element of the course, and it is the judgment of the committee that six observations, of which at least three should be consecutive in the subject, shall be considered a satisfactory minimum requirement in a semester course; that these observations, to be most effective, should come in the second half of the semester, and should be made according to directions explicitly given, and should be reported upon either at conference with the instructor of the teachers' course or in writing.

Most teachers of history are called upon to teach the high-school course in civil government. Therefore it is generally necessary that in this course on method a special reference be made to the aims, problems, and method of teaching civics.

Acquaintance with the high-school textbooks of history and civics should also be promoted, with helpful direction in evaluat-

ing them. To give concreteness to much of the foregoing instruction and to secure practical preparedness in one element of the teacher's task, students of the course may be required to work out a semester's plan of work in any one field of high-school history with such detail that a working plan for each day may be secured.

Finally, since in this field of action the best way to learn to do is by doing, wherever possible practice work (directed teaching) should be a feature of this teachers' course and facilities for it should be provided so that it may be done after the theories of teaching the subject have been laid down; opportunity for this should be furnished in such amount that each student assigned to it may have at least a week's consecutive practice with high-school pupils.

Appended is a detailed outline of this course, together with a bibliography valuable for the student.

WAYLAND J. CHASE, chairman

GUERNSEY JONES	FRANK H. HODDER	CARL C. ECKHARDT
SAMUEL B. HARDING	LAWRENCE M. LARSON	A. C. KREY
WILLIAM E. DODD	NORMAN M. TRENHOLME	HENRY W. ELSON
PAUL C. PHILLIPS	HENRY E. BOURNE	ST. GEO. L. SIOUSSAT
HARLOW LINDLEY	JAMES E. WINSTON	FREDERIC DUNCALF

DAVID Y. THOMAS

SUGGESTION OF COURSE ON METHODS OF TEACHING HISTORY

The general purposes of the high school and the values of the study of history in their bearing on these: so, the aims of the teacher of history in the high school.

The place of history in the curriculum of the high school together with an enquiry as to the scope and content of high-school blocks of history.

The special demands made by this subject on the teacher of it.

What does studying a history lesson mean?

The use of the textbook.

Practice work in assigning a textbook lesson.

The use of source material in the high school.

Practice work in assigning lesson in source material.

Collateral reading — what to use and how to use it.

Geography's relation to history. Maps and map-work.

Pictures — what to use and how to use them.

Practice work in assigning a lesson on picture material.

The possibilities of written work, including uses of the blackboard.

The history recitation. Direction of observation work.

Special problems of method, presented by special phases of the subject, e. g., military history, national finance, etc.

The special problems of civics teaching.

Comparison of textbooks.

Devices for arousing interest.

Report from prospective teacher as to best books for collateral reading.

The first recitations of new year — their special problems and opportunities.

Student's formation of plan of semester work in any one field of high-school history.

Pupils' reports on observation work.

Practice work in conducting recitation.

LIST OF READINGS FOR TEACHERS' COURSE

1. Allen, J. W., *The Place of History in Education.*
2. Amer. Polit. Science Assoc., *Proceedings*, 1908.
3. Andrews, Gambrill & Tall: *A Bibliography of History.*
4. Baker, *History in Fiction.* 2 vols.
5. Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method.*
6. Bourne, *The Teaching of History and Civics.*
7. Cannon, *Reading References for English History.*
8. Channing, Hart, and Turner, *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History.*
9. Diesterweg, *Methods of Teaching History.*
10. Fling, *Outline of Historical Method.*
11. Hall, *Methods of Teaching History.*
12. Harrison, *The Meaning of History.*
13. Hartwell, *The Teaching of History.*
14. Hinsdale, *How to Study and Teach History.*
15. Historical Association Leaflets, 1-12.
16. Historical Association Leaflets, 13-17.
17. *History Teacher's Magazine*, vols. I-V.
18. Indiana Univ. Bulletin, vol. VII, no. 8, *History Teaching in the High School.*
19. Indiana Univ. Studies, no. 17, *Materials, Methods and Administration.*
20. Jaeger, *The Teaching of History.*
21. Johnson, *History in the Elementary School.*
22. Johnston and others, *High School Education.*
23. Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History.*
24. Kemp, *An Outline of Method in History.*
25. Langlois & Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History.*
26. Lecky, *The Political Value of History.*
27. Lecky, *Historical and Political Essays.*
28. McMurry, *Special Method in History.*
29. Maitland, etc., *Essays on Teaching of History.*

30. New England History Teachers' Association, *Outline for the Study of American Civil Government.*

31. Report of the Committee of Five, *The Study of History in the Schools.*

32. Report of the Committee of Seven, *The Study of History in the Schools.*

33. Report of the Committee of Eight, *The Study of History in the Elementary Schools.*

34. Report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies Nat'l Education Assoc., 1892.

35. Report of a Select Committee, *Historical Sources in the Schools.*

36. Seward, *Note-Taking.*

37. *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin*, 302.

38. Vincent, *Historical Research.*

39. Wayland, *How to Teach American History.*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(April, 1915)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(April, 1915)

The work of this Association during the year has been materially affected by the prevailing financial depression which has been felt to a greater or less extent in every section of our country. It has been a little harder than usual to secure new members. There have been more cancellations than ordinarily and collections have been slow. The existing uncertainty in the business world has made it especially difficult to secure advertising patronage for the *Review* and the subscription list has not grown as we would have a right to expect under normal conditions. Yet there appears to be no especial reason for discouragement as to the future of the Association and its activities.

Owing to the early date set for the 1915 meeting the present report covers a period of only eleven months, yet it shows a substantial gain over the preceding twelve months.

The minutes of the Grand Forks meeting have been published in volume VII of the *Proceedings*, just off the press. The publication of this volume was delayed several months owing to causes for which no one was directly responsible, but notwithstanding this delay we are still several months in advance of similar organizations in the publication of our *Proceedings*.

The first official act of President Cox was to name a Program Committee for the Chicago meeting, which was held at the time of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28-31, 1914. The personnel of this committee was as follows: James A. James, Frederic L. Paxson, and Isaac J. Cox. This meeting was not

really a joint session with the American Association but a conference held at the same time as the conference of archivists, 2 o'clock, P. M., December 31, in the Auditorium Hotel. A program of exceptional merit was presented, with President Isaac J. Cox presiding.

A paper by Royal B. Way of Beloit College, treating of "English Relations in the Northwest, 1789-94," was first on the program. This was followed by a paper, "The Agrarian History of the United States as a Subject for Research," by William J. Trimble, North Dakota Agricultural College. The program was concluded with a discussion on "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," based upon an article by Frank H. Hodder published in the *Proceedings*, 1912, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The discussion was led by Professor Hodder, University of Kansas, and Prof. P. Orman Ray, Trinity College. Among those who participated in the discussion were: James A. Woodburn, Indiana University; Mrs. Lois Kimball Matthews, University of Wisconsin; Jonas Viles, University of Missouri; St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University; Oliver M. Dickerson, State Normal School, Winona, Minn.; and Henry N. Sherwood, La Crosse (Wisconsin) Normal School.

At the conclusion of the regular program the following resolution was presented by Edward C. Page:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that a Teachers' Conference is desirable at the regular meetings of the American Historical Association.

Resolved, That the secretary of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association be instructed to communicate the foregoing resolution to the chairman of the Program Committee and to the secretary of the Council of the American Historical Association.

On motion the resolution was adopted.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held at the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, at 8:30 o'clock, A. M., Thurs-

day, December 31, there were present Francis A. Sampson, Clarence W. Alvord, Guy Stanton Ford, Isaac J. Cox, James A. James, Orin G. Libby, and the secretary. At this meeting President Cox was authorized to name a committee of seven on the Recognition of Hereditary Patriotic Societies, this question having been referred to the Executive Committee at the Grand Forks meeting.

It was the sense of the meeting that no attempt should be made to hold a special meeting of the Association at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, and the secretary was instructed to so advise the management. The action of the president in reappointing Eugene C. Barker, Claude H. Van Tyne, and Orin G. Libby as members of the board of editors for a term of three years was approved.

An important feature of the Chicago meeting was the dinner at the Fort Dearborn Hotel at 6:30 o'clock, P. M., December 28. This was intended primarily for members of the various committees of the Association who, however, were privileged to invite their friends. The local arrangements were made under the direction of James A. James. The attendance was good. All of the committees were represented and reports were received from most of them.

Thomas F. Moran, chairman of the Committee on the Teaching of American History in Elementary and Secondary Schools, reported that the committee was making progress and that a full report would be submitted later.

William H. Shepard, who had but recently been appointed as chairman of the Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum said: That the committee proposed to make inquiry throughout the Middle West as to the extent of the teaching of state history in high schools and normal schools particularly; that it would be important to know what encouragement had been given such study by state educational author-

ities, what manuals, bulletins, or short histories relative to the state had been made available for such teaching; and further whether state history should be given as a separate course or as a part of the course in American history. It was suggested also by Chairman Shepard that secretaries of historical societies could aid considerably in making the sources of their libraries and collections available for the reading and teaching of state history in the secondary schools. A general discussion of the field of work to be covered by the investigation of this committee was led by Eugene M. Violette, who outlined his personal experiences in Missouri. He was followed by James A. Woodburn and Solon J. Buck.

James F. Willard for the Committee on the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities reported informally that it was the opinion of the committee that the formation of a distinct department of state history in our state universities is not desirable, but that it is highly desirable that the departments of history as at present constituted should assume certain definite responsibilities with reference to the teaching and investigation of state history.

In order to discover, if possible, how far the departments of history are fulfilling this function an investigation has been made of the courses in state or sectional history offered in the various state institutions. It is found that while state history is frequently not offered its place is taken by courses on the region in which the university is situated. Of the state universities west of the Allegheny Mountains only Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee, and New Mexico (Alabama not being accounted for) do not offer courses of either description. It would seem, therefore, that the matter of offering courses is being taken care of, though in the opinion of the committee this does not reach the root of the question at issue. Chairman Willard stated that it was the feeling of the

committee that under the present mandate its work will be done when the final report on this investigation has been made, and asked that the Association consider the question of its discharge at that time.[1]

Wayland J. Chase, chairman of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History, reported progress. He said that the task the committee had undertaken to perform was to determine what should be the content and scope of the departmental course for the training of teachers, that is to say what the course in methods of teaching history in high schools should cover. Members of the committee, by correspondence, had compared opinions and were looking forward to a meeting when they might compare, discuss, and put their conclusions into shape for a formal report at the next annual meeting.

Eugene M. Violette, chairman of the Committee of Seven on the Place of Normal Schools in Preparing High School Teachers of History, submitted the following preliminary report:

At the meeting of the Association at Omaha in May, 1913, the Committee on Certification of High School History Teachers suggested in its report that the question of the work of normal schools in the preparation of high-school history teachers should receive some special attention. The suggestion was acted upon favorably by the incoming president, Professor James, and a committee of seven normal-school history teachers was appointed by him to take the matter up. The committee was composed as follows: E. M. Violette, Kirksville, Mo., chairman; Sara M. Riggs, Cedar Falls, Ia.; P. M. Williams, Emporia, Kan.; E. C. Page, DeKalb, Ill.; C. N. Anderson, Kearney, Neb.; S. E. Thomas, Charleston, Ill.; and C. E. Pray, Ypsilanti, Mich. The committee proceeded to get out a questionnaire at once and sent it to 150 state normal schools throughout the entire country. City normal schools and teachers' colleges were purposely excluded, as they have been uniformly established for the purpose

[1] For the committee's report, since submitted, see *post*, 61. — Ed.

of preparing elementary teachers and hence would not come within the scope of our inquiry.

Of the 150 blanks sent out, ninety-seven were returned more or less filled out. Some results have been gathered from these returns but as yet the study has not been completed. The final report will be ready during the summer of 1915.

The ninety-seven schools responding fall readily into three classes: (1) Those reporting that they confine themselves strictly to the preparation of elementary and rural teachers; (2) Those that give practically their entire time to the preparation of elementary and rural teachers, and prepare high-school teachers only incidentally; (3) Those that make special effort to prepare high-school teachers as well as elementary and rural teachers. It was found that these three classes are nearly the same in number, there being thirty-one in the first class, thirty-three in the second, and thirty-three in the third.

The thirty-one schools constituting the first class are scattered throughout thirteen states as follows: California, Connecticut, Colorado, Idaho, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Vermont. California, Minnesota, and Vermont reported that there were legal restrictions in these states preventing the normal schools from attempting to prepare high-school teachers. Of these thirteen states it will be noticed that three are in the Mississippi Valley, while six are in the East and four in the West.

The thirty-three schools constituting the second class are from sixteen states as follows: Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Maine, New York, New Mexico, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia. Of these seventeen states, five are in the Mississippi Valley while eight are in the East and three in the West.

The thirty-three schools making up the third class are to be found in seventeen different states as follows: Colorado, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Kansas, Missouri, Michigan, New York, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. Of these seventeen states

it is to be particularly noted that thirteen are in the Mississippi Valley while only three are in the East and one in the West.

From this it will be seen that on the whole the normal schools in the eastern and western states are given altogether or very largely to the work of preparing elementary and rural teachers, while those in the Mississippi Valley are undertaking to prepare high-school teachers as well as elementary and rural teachers.

Of the thirty-three schools in class III, seven, and possibly four more, are giving four years or more of college history. Likewise fourteen, and possibly four more, are giving two years or more of college government, economics, and sociology.

In the final report data will be offered on such matters as the equipment of the schools that are attempting to prepare high-school history teachers, the character of the courses that are being given, and the history faculties of these schools. Investigations are now being made by the committee in several states where normal school graduates are engaged in teaching history in high schools as to the success they are having.

Orin G. Libby for the Committee on the Administration of Historical Societies stated that no formal draft of a report had been agreed upon but that certain plans would be made the subject of a future report. He said:

The organization of historical societies contains numerous points of divergence which call for some description and discussion. The best form of association with the state government will be discussed and the various regulations and constitutions covering this point will be described. The relative importance of museum and library work and the part taken by various organizations in educational activities in the state will find a place in the forthcoming report. Your committee feels that there is need of exchange of ideas among those responsible for historical activities in the various states. Especially is the experience of older organizations valuable to those facing for the first time the problems of expenditure and publicity.

Clarence W. Alvord, chairman of the Committee on the Relation of Historical Societies and Departments of

History, spoke briefly and informally on the subject assigned to his committee, dwelling upon the fact that in some states there was a complete union of these two, notably in Iowa and Wisconsin,[2] whereas in others jealousy existed. He then pointed out that the first work of historical societies should be the collection and publication of source material and that they could leave to the departments of history and private historians the monographic studies based upon these subjects. In this way he thought that jealousy could be avoided. Professor Alvord took the position that there should be closer coöperation than generally existed between departments of history and historical societies; that departments of history should make more general use of the collections of historical societies, and that historical societies should avail themselves of the scientifically trained men in the departments of history in general research work.

Dunbar Rowland said that the Committee on the Standardization of Historical Society Publications would present a full report at the next annual meeting.

Charles E. Brown, chairman of the Committee on State Historical Museums, reported as follows:

> The committee desires to report that inquiry and personal inspection indicate that steady progress is being made by many of the historical museums identified with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Several have recently been housed in new buildings and others are occupying additional exhibition space in the buildings in which they are located. Through the meetings of the Association and through personal visits of inspection, made by some of these officers, the curators of these institutions are now becoming acquainted with the character of the work conducted in the various museums, and the long-hoped for spirit of coöperation is already making itself felt.
>
> A study of the activities of a number of the larger museums shows that they are engaged in increasing the extent and valu

[2] In Wisconsin, while the two organizations work in entire harmony organically they are quite independent of each other. — Ed.

of their collections, improving the methods of museum business administration, installing new collections, holding numerous special exhibitions, distributing literature of an educational character, giving instruction to classes of school children and university students, holding public lectures, and providing generally for the educational advancement and entertainment of the public. Some are conducting historical excursions, engaging in archeological and historical researches, assisting in the organization and management of historical pageants and celebrations, and encouraging the protection and marking of local historical monuments and sites.

The present improvement in and progress of the state historical museums is largely due to the character of the class of men who within the last few years have been appointed to their management by the state societies. It is apparent that one of the chief needs of the historical museums in the near future will be that of securing assistants carefully trained for work in this field. To meet this need it is now highly desirable that a full course of instruction in museology should be given at one or several of our leading western universities. The financial support received by the historical museums from the several states in which they are located should be increased in order that they may further promote the important public educational functions for which they exist.

For the Committee on Historic Sites, Chairman Orin G. Libby reported progress. He said:

Two phases of the forthcoming report will receive special attention. There was referred to your committee at the last annual meeting a special request for the correction of certain inscriptions which were inaccurate both as to date and names. It is proposed to present a plan of coöperation between this committee and such individuals or agencies as have charge of erecting and marking historic monuments. It is further planned to present in as concise form as possible the various state provisions for the preservation and marking of historic sites, and further to give a brief directory of the principal organizations interested in such work. In this way it is hoped that what has been done may be a source of inspiration to public-spirited citi-

zens in other states to carry on similar work for their own localities.

Professor Libby stated that the most important work accomplished by the committee was the inauguration of a movement for organizing the La Salle Memorial Association to be charged with the duty of erecting a monument to La Salle.

William O. Hart, chairman of the organization Committee of the La Salle Memorial Association, being unavoidably absent, two members of his committee, Howard W. Caldwell and Dunbar Rowland, were called upon and stated that no formal action had yet been taken nor had there been a meeting of the committee but that it was called to meet in New Orleans, April 13.

Otto L. Schmidt, a member of the Advisory Committee of the La Salle Memorial Association, was called upon but said that there appeared to be nothing for the Advisory Committee to do until a formal organization had been completed.

Oliver M. Dickerson, chairman of the Committee on Standardizing Library Work and Library Equipment in Secondary Schools, reported as follows:

> This committee was created as a result of a discussion at the meeting at Grand Forks. An investigation of library conditions in Minnesota and other states indicates that equipment for history study is grossly inadequate. It is also evident that such equipment will never be adequate until teachers of history generally can agree upon such a delimitation of the field for library work as to make it physically possible for school boards to secure books of the right kind and in sufficient numbers to supply all the members of the various classes. This committee will endeavor to find out whether history teachers are prepared to agree to such a delimitation of the field.

A discussion of this report was led by St. George L. Sioussat, followed by Howard W. Caldwell, James M. Callahan, and James A. James.

At this point Edward C. Page offered a resolution

requesting the American Historical Association to plan for a regular Teachers' Conference in connection with the program of each annual meeting. Objection being made to its consideration at that time, it was moved by Professor Alvord to lay the resolution on the table. Carried.

Harry B. Mackoy, chairman of the Special Committee on the Recognition of Hereditary Patriotic Societies, was unable to be present but sent a preliminary report which was read by Edgar R. Harlan, a member of this committee.

The Secretary stated for the Committee on Membership that some plans were being considered that it was thought would add very materially to the membership of the Association.

Clarence W. Alvord reported for the Publication Committee and the Board of Editors of the *Review*. As managing editor of the *Review*, Professor Alvord pointed to the accomplishments of the year and expressed a firm belief in the future success of the magazine. He said that many strong and hearty congratulations had been received concerning the progress of the work and that he had received the heartiest coöperation from the editors, and from historical students throughout the Mississippi Valley and even from the East, and that there appeared to be no dearth of material that was worthy of being printed.

President Cox called attention to the request of the *History Teacher's Magazine* for financial support. He also suggested the appointment of a committee to meet with a similar committee of the American Historical Association to consider future relations. An informal discussion of the latter proposition brought out considerable opposition which was voiced by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Solon J. Buck, and others. Dr. Buck called attention to the program of the Chicago meeting which did not

provide for a joint session as had been agreed. St. George L. Sioussat took issue with what had been said, and suggested that the matter be handled with caution.

It was moved by Professor Sioussat that the sum of $50 be appropriated for the support of the *History Teacher's Magazine*. It being pointed out that the funds were not available for such an appropriation the motion was tabled.

The first year of the publication of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has brought some disappointments, especially in the amount of advertising patronage we have been able to secure and the difficulty we have experienced in collecting from some of the guarantors. Then, too, as usual, there have been many expenses that we had not counted on. We have had to draw upon the resources of the Association to the amount of $135.61 for the support of the *Review* and there is now due $356.05 in connection with the printing of the last number. There is, however, $550 due from the guarantors for the year, $387.50 of which can be had upon call. In every other respect the *Review* has met every expectation and there is every reason to believe that if the guarantors will stand by the proposition for the three years as agreed, the publication will then be entirely self-sustaining.

The work of the committees during the year has been especially commendable. Particular care was taken by President Cox in making up the personnel of these committees and results have indicated that but few mistakes were made.

We have yet to solve the question of the advisability of combining the *Review* and the *Proceedings*, or dispensing entirely with the *Proceedings*, and using the *Review* as the solo medium of publication. Either would appear to the secretary as a backward step, and yet it is apparent that some means must be found of decreasing the expenses of the Association or increasing its revenues. For several years the secretary felt that this was

his problem; now, however, it would seem that the members of the Association should assume the responsibility and devise some plan that will insure the continuance of the work on a safe financial basis.

Owing to the failure of the Executive Committee to elect three members of the Board of Editors of the *Review* at the Grand Forks meeting, President Cox reappointed Eugene C. Barker, Claude H. Van Tyne, and Orin G. Libby, whose terms had expired. Later this action was confirmed by the Executive Committee at a meeting held in Chicago, Dec. 29, 1914, and the three gentlemen above named were elected for the term of three years.

At the Grand Forks meeting an experiment was tried in the holding of a sociology section which was very successful, and at that time the president was authorized to name a committee of three to arrange a program for a sociology section at the 1915 meeting and to consider plans for the permanent organization of such a section. This committee was not named by President Cox for the reason that he was unable to find any one willing to serve in this capacity.

Upon the authority of the Grand Forks meeting, which had referred to the Executive Committee the proposition to coöperate with the hereditary patriotic societies, President Cox named a committee of seven to consider this subject. The following is the personnel of the committee: Harry B. Mackoy, chairman, Covington, Kentucky; R. C. Ballard Thruston, Louisville, Kentucky; Herbert C. Fish, Bismarck, North Dakota; Edgar R. Harlan, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Illinois; Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, Jackson, Mississippi; and Mrs. Adele B. Looscan, Houston, Texas.

The questions for consideration suggested to the committee were as follows:

1. To what extent is coöperation feasible and advisable in the work of identifying and marking historic sites.

2. To what extent is it practicable in connection with historical celebrations?

3. Is there need for additional opportunity to publish occasional addresses before the hereditary societies? Would coöperation as suggested above be likely to improve the character of such addresses? Have you any definite suggestions upon this point?

4. Have the hereditary societies or their members documents of historical value or rare historical pamphlets or books that should be published or reprinted? Do they know that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association has planned to publish such a series? What method of coöperation can you suggest in this field?

5. Would the hereditary patriotic societies be likely to take an active interest in the establishment of a Mississippi Valley fellowship in history? How many (of the eighty odd) societies would be likely to make an annual contribution of twenty-five dollars or more to this cause?

6. (If the above question is answered affirmatively) Should the sum suggested be taken as a unit for basing voting in regard to the disposal of this fund? If not, what sum would you suggest? For what period would you suggest making an experiment of this sort?

7. Should the attempt be made to secure contributions so that a part (say half) of the contribution might be devoted to a permanent fund, the income to be used when it equals the stipend agreed upon?

8. A fellowship to support an ordinary graduate student should not be less than $500 per year; one to support a mature research specialist should be at least $1,500 per year, but preferably $2,000. Which of the above do you consider practicable? Which the more profitable?

9. With societies representing different periods of our history — the colonial, revolutionary, etc., what plan would you suggest for determining the field of work? Would you do this arbitrarily or depend on the applicants each year, awarding the fellowship to the one judged best in each instance, irrespective of the field of work? What should be the outside dates, if any, of the entire field of research?

10. Would it be more feasible to offer, instead of a fellow-

ship, a prize, available once in three or five years, for the best work on the Mississippi Valley appearing during that period? Could such a prize be supplemental to a fellowship system?

11. What suggestions would you make to secure the best results from a system of fellowships and prizes and to provide against failure of the holder of a fellowship to produce results, either from sickness, death, or other cause?

12. Should such a system as this be restricted to the hereditary societies alone? Or should individuals be invited to contribute as well? What name would you suggest for the fund? What form of control would you advise?

After a great deal of correspondence and much urgent solicitation on the part of the promoters of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition it was decided by the Executive Committee that it would not be advisable to attempt to hold a meeting of the Association in San Francisco during the Exposition.

During the year the secretary received from Edgar R. Harlan several items which were supposed to be of special interest to the people of Ohio with the suggestion that the Association act as a clearing house for the distribution of such duplicate material as might come into the hands of any of its members. The Ohio items referred to were forwarded to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which was very glad to receive them. It would seem as though this might be made an important feature of the work of the Association and the example of Mr. Harlan is commended to others.

The place of meeting for 1915 was not determined until late in the year when, on the order of the president, a vote of members of the Executive Committee was taken by mail and showed a small majority in favor of New Orleans, with the same city named as the second choice of several others. As soon as the place of meeting had been selected, President Cox, with the advice of local interests, named the following committees:

Arrangements: William Beer, chairman, William O.

Hart, secretary, Robert Sharp, Miss Grace King, Gaspar Cusachs, William O. Scroggs, Melvin J. White, Alvin P. Howard, Thomas Sloo, and Ernest Lee Jahncke.

Program: William L. Fleming, chairman, Pierce Butler, William R. Manning, St. George L. Sioussat, and Karl F. Geiser.

The late appointment of these committees made the work of presenting a creditable program very difficult. That the Program Committee has acquitted itself with credit is evidenced by the present meeting.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Receipts and Disbursements, May 23, 1914-April 17, 1915

Balance on hand, May 23, 1914		$ 94.92
Receipts		
Cash receipts from membership dues, contributions, and sale of publications	$1,416.88	
Cash receipts from *Review* subscriptions, advertising, and guaranty fund	1,991.83	3,408.71
Total Receipts		$3,503.63
Disbursements		
Account Association		
Printing *Proceedings*	$ 585.50	
Postage and express	124.96	
Clerical work	241.45	
Printing, miscellaneous	90.95	
Office supplies	3.70	
Traveling expenses	110.86	
Mississippi Valley Historical Review, $2.00 each for 86 Life and Sustaining members, per resolution adopted May 28, 1914	172.00	
Miscellaneous	13.90	
		$1,343.32

Account *Review*

Printing *Review*	$1,430.96	
Freight and drayage	10.34	
Postage	40.68	
Clerical work	276.40	
Printing, miscellaneous	29.55	
Editorial office, miscellaneous	359.48	
		$2,147.41
Total disbursements		$3,490.73
Balance on hand, April 17, 1915		12.90

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

Receipts and Disbursements, May 23, 1914-April 17, 1915

Balance on hand, May 23, 1914		$ 19.97	
Receipts			
Subscriptions	$ 632.20		
Advertising	184.63		
Guaranty Fund	1,175.00	1,991.83	
Total Receipts			$2,011.80
Disbursements			
Printing *Review*	$1,430.96		
Freight and drayage	10.34		
Postage	40.68		
Clerical work	276.40		
Printing, miscellaneous	29.55		
Editorial office, miscellaneous	359.48		135.61
Total Disbursements	$2,147.41		$2,147.41
Deficit			135.61
Bills payable			356.05
Total indebtedness			$ 491.66

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. PAINE, *Secretary-Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEPARTMENTS OF STATE HISTORY IN STATE UNIVERSITIES

At the third annual meeting of the Association, held at Iowa City in May, 1910, the President was directed to appoint a Committee on the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities. This committee was later appointed, its members being C. H. Van Tyne, chairman, Albert Watkins, J. A. Woodburn, Evarts B. Greene, and F. M. Anderson. Mr. Greene later succeeded Mr. Van Tyne as chairman, and he in turn was succeeded, in 1914, by the present chairman, James F. Willard. The committee at present consists of Miss Grace R. Hebard, E. B. Greene, J. H. Reynolds, Jonas Viles, J. A. Woodburn, and J. F. Willard.

During the year 1914 there was referred to the committee a resolution introduced at the Grand Forks meeting by the secretary-treasurer and there approved, to the effect that "an elective course in historical investigation offered by the departments of history in the state universities of the Mississippi Valley for which students might register and prepare papers, to be read at the meetings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association or to be printed in its publications, would be a great incentive to history students and investigators."

In order to prepare the way for its recommendations the committee decided upon an investigation of the status of the teaching of state history in the state universities. Because of the fact that some instructors hold that state history lacks intrinsic and relative importance, it was also decided to examine the extent to which regional history has been substituted for state history in the same in-

stitutions. The chairman was directed to undertake these two lines of investigation, the results of which are given below.

It may be that by restricting its investigations to the letter of its mandate the committee has not fulfilled the spirit of its instructions. Indeed it has been suggested that it take under consideration the larger subject of the ways and means of arousing interest in local history. This, however, seems to be inexpedient at present. There are at least two committees of this Association at work on special subjects which have a direct bearing on the larger problem, the Committee on State History as a Part of the High School Curriculum and the Committee on the Relation of Historical Societies and Departments of History. When these have reported it might be desirable to appoint a committee to inquire into the matter of the means used and to be used in interesting the people of the states in their own history. The present report, though restricted in scope, may serve to throw some light upon the subject by showing what the departments of history are doing, through the offering of courses of instruction, to disseminate a knowledge of local history.

THE TEACHING OF STATE AND REGIONAL HISTORY

In the preparation of the following tables state institutions only have been considered unless the contrary is stated. West of the Appalachian Mountains only state institutions of university rank have been given any attention. The statements of courses are based upon the announcements made in the catalogues of the various institutions. This latter method of procedure has its obvious disadvantages, which, however, could only have been overcome at the expense of much and seemingly needless correspondence. In a few instances, as will be seen, it was not found possible accurately to determine the credit hours given for a course. In other cases the number of semesters or terms could not be ascertained

And it is to be feared that the lack of descriptive summaries of some courses may have led to a failure to discover certain courses in regional history. These omissions, if they exist, should not seriously affect the validity of the results of the investigation.

The classification of the state institutions in the tables is based upon the system used by the United States Census Bureau. The courses are undergraduate unless the contrary is stated. The Roman numerals indicate the number of semesters for which the course is offered. Whenever the three-term system is used by an institution, the number of terms is noted. The Arabic numerals indicate the number of credit hours given each semester for work done in the course. Whenever either or both of these indications are missing it was found impossible to get the necessary data upon which an accurate statement could be based. When no mention is made of the fact, the courses are listed in the department of history.

I. State institutions and courses in state history offered, catalogues of 1913-14.

1. North Atlantic Division.

In the catalogues examined no such courses were found.

2. South Atlantic Division.

Delaware College.

Studies in Delaware History. I. 2 or 3.

University of Georgia.

History of Georgia. II. 1.

History of Georgia. II. (?). 3.

University of North Carolina.

North Carolina History. I. 2.

West Virginia University.

History of West Virginia. 1.

3. North Central Division.

University of Illinois.

The History of Illinois. I. 2.

Indiana University.
Seminary in Indiana History. Three terms. Graduate.
University of Iowa.
Department of Political Science.
Iowa History and Government. 4.
Introduction to Iowa History. 2.
Iowa History and Politics. 2.
Research in Iowa History. 2 to 10. Graduate.
University of Missouri.
History of Missouri. 1.
University of Nebraska.
Department of Political Science.
Nebraska History and Political Institutions. I. 2.
Department of History (American).
Seminary on Nebraska History, Politics and Economics. II. 2. Undergraduate and graduate.
University of North Dakota.
History Seminar. II. 2. Undergraduate and graduate.
Deals with the history of the state.
University of South Dakota.
South Dakota History. II. 1.
University of Wisconsin.
History of Wisconsin. I. 2.

4. South Central Division.
University of Arkansas.
Reconstruction in Arkansas. Seminar.
Louisiana State University.
History of Louisiana. I. 3.
University of Mississippi.
Local History of Reconstruction in Mississippi. One term. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.
University of Oklahoma.
History of Oklahoma. 4. Undergraduate and graduate.
Seminary in Oklahoma History. 1 or 2. Graduate.

5. Western Division.

University of California.

History of California. II. 2.

University of Colorado.

History of Colorado. I. 2.

University of Montana.

History of Montana. I. 2. Undergraduate and graduate.

Studies in Montana History. II. 1.

University of Nevada.

History of Nevada. II. 1.

Research Course in Nevada History. II. 1.

University of Wyoming.

Department of Political Economy.

Wyoming. II. 3.

II. State institutions in which no distinctly state history courses were offered, catalogues of 1913-14.

1. North Atlantic Division.

University of Maine, New Hampshire College, Cornell University, Pennsylvania State College, Rhode Island State College, University of Vermont.

The states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey not accounted for.

Since it may seem that the state institutions of collegiate or university rank do not adequately represent the higher institutions of this section of the country, the catalogues of Brown, Clark, Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton and Yale universities, and Dartmouth College were examined. In none of these were courses in state history listed.

2. South Atlantic Division.

Universities of Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia. The state of Maryland not accounted for.

3. North Central Division.

Universities of Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, and Ohio State University. (It may be that the course, Primitive Man in Ohio, I. 1., should be counted as state history.)

4. South Central Division.
   Universities of Kentucky (a part of a History of the United States is said to deal with Kentucky history), Tennessee, and Texas. The University of Alabama not accounted for.
5. Western Division.
   Universities of Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, and Washington.

III. State institutions and courses in regional history offered, catalogues of 1913-14.

The standard used in the selection of such courses for classification under this heading needs a word of explanation. Regional has been taken in a rather strict sense of the term and has not been made to include some courses which may possibly appear to have that character. Courses in colonial history have not been classified as regional even when given in institutions located in states whose history goes back to the colonial period. After the same fashion courses dealing with the Civil War and Reconstruction are not counted as regional though offered in institutions of the southern states. In both of these instances the courses cover standard chronological divisions of the history of the country. It is quite possible that local conditions may be emphasized in both cases, but the impossibility of discovering, from a mere reading of catalogue announcements, if this is so, has led to the exclusion of all such courses.

1. North Atlantic Division.
   No courses found in the catalogues examined.
2. South Atlantic Division.
   University of Georgia.
   History of the South. II. 3.
3. North Central Division.
   University of Illinois.
   The History of the Exploration and Colonization of the West. II. 2. Undergraduate and graduate.
   The History of Western Expansion. Graduate.

Indiana University.
Development of the West. Three terms. 3.
University of Iowa.
The Evolution of the Western States. I. 2.
The History of the Old Northwest. I. 2.
The History of the Louisiana Purchase. I. 3.
Seminar in Western American History. II. 2. Graduate.
University of Kansas.
Seminar in American History. II. 3 or 5. Graduate.
"The subjects for investigation will be taken from the history of the trans-Missouri West."
University of Minnesota.
The West in American History. Undergraduate and graduate.
University of Nebraska.
Land, Laws, and Policy of the United States. II. 3.
"Development of the successive 'wests' . . . ."; The "Finality Years" and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. II. 2.
University of North Dakota.
History of the Northwest. I. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.
Ohio State University.
The History of the West. II. 3.
University of South Dakota.
History of the West. I. 3.
University of Wisconsin.
History of the West, 1763-1890. II. 3.
Seminary in American History. II. 2. (?) Graduate.
"The History of the West. . . ."

4. South Central Division.
Louisiana State University.
The South and West. I. 3.
University of Mississippi.
Political History of the South, 1776-1830. One term. 2.

The South in Federal Politics, 1830-1860. One term. 2.

The South in National Politics, 1860-1910. One term. 2.

All of the above undergraduate and graduate.

University of Oklahoma.

The West. 4. Undergraduate and graduate.

University of Texas.

The Spanish Southwest. Undergraduate and graduate.

Southwestern History. Undergraduate and graduate.

5. Western Division.

University of Arizona.

Expansion of the American People. II. 3.

"during the second semester considerable time will be given to the history of the Southwest. . . ."

University of California.

The History of the West. II. 3.

Spain in North America. II. 2.

Southwestern History. II. 2. Graduate.

Pacific Coast History. II. 2. Graduate.

University of Idaho.

The Pacific Northwest. II. 2.

University of Montana.

Expansion of the United States. II. 2. Undergraduate and graduate.

University of Nevada.

Westward Expansion of the United States. II. 2.

History of the Pacific Slope. II. 2.

University of Oregon.

Seminar in Western History. I. 4.

University of Utah.

Western History. I. 2. Graduate.

University of Washington.

Development of the Pacific. I. 3.

Northwestern History. II. 2.

Joint Seminar. II. 2. Graduate.

Problems of Washington and of the Pacific Northwest.

University of Wyoming.

History of the West. II. 3.

IV. State institutions in which neither state nor regional history courses were offered, catalogues of 1913-14.

1. North Atlantic Division.

See the list in table II. The same institutions fail to offer distinctly regional history courses.

2. South Atlantic Division.

Universities of Florida and Virginia. Maryland not accounted for.

3. North Central Division.

University of Michigan.

4. South Central Division.

Universities of Kentucky (see table II. 4) and Tennessee. The University of Alabama not accounted for.

5. Western Division.

University of New Mexico.

Since the above investigation was made the catalogues of the academic year 1914-15 have been issued and examined. In these some few changes were found which indicate no falling off in the interest in state and regional history. These changes are listed below. It has not been considered necessary to repeat the titles of courses if they are to be found in the catalogues of both 1913-14 and 1914-15. Consequently the appended tabulation only refers to courses omitted in the later catalogues and to new courses offered. The list of courses can be completed by reference to the previous tables I and III. Mere changes in the titles of courses are not listed.

V. State institutions and courses in state and regional history, changes in catalogues of 1914-15.

1. North Atlantic Division.

No changes seen. For the names of the institutions see table II.

2. South Atlantic Division.

No changes were found in the catalogues of the universities of Florida, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia.

University of Georgia.

History of Georgia. 3. Graduate. Omitted.

History of the South. 3. Graduate. New.

History of the South. 1. Graduate. New.

University of North Carolina.

North Carolina History. Now II. 2.

3. North Central Division.

No changes were found in the catalogues of the universities of Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, North Dakota, Ohio, and South Dakota.

Indiana University.

History of Indiana. II. 2. New.

University of Iowa.

The Evolution of the Western States. Now I. 3.

The History of the Louisiana Purchase. Now I. 2.

University of Minnesota.

History of the Upper Mississippi and Great Lakes Region to 1815. II. 6? Undergraduate and graduate. New.

University of Missouri.

History of Missouri. Omitted.

Seminary in Missouri History. 3. Graduate. New.

University of Nebraska.

The "Finality Years" and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Omitted.

Nebraska and the Reconstruction Movement. I. 2. Undergraduate and graduate. New.

University of Wisconsin.

History of Wisconsin. Omitted.

4. South Central Division.

The catalogues of the universities of Alabama and Mississippi were not seen.

No changes were found in the catalogues of the universities of Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

Louisiana State University.
The South and West. Now II. 2.
American Biography . . . Southern Leaders. I. 3. New.
University of Oklahoma.
Seminary in Oklahoma History. Now 2.
Seminary in Southwestern History. II. 2. Graduate. New.
University of Texas.
Southwestern History. Omitted.
The Anglo-American Southwest, 1803-1850. New.

5. Western Division.

The catalogues of the universities of Oregon and Utah were not seen.
No changes were found in the catalogues of the universities of Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, and Washington.
University of Arizona.
Expansion of the American People. Omitted.
University of California.
The Trans-Mississippi West since 1821. II. 2. Graduate. New.
University of Colorado.
History of Colorado. Omitted.
The Development of the West. II. 2. New.
University of Montana.
Department of Economics and Sociology.
Seminar in Montana Economics and History. II. 2. Graduate. New.
University of Wyoming.
Topics in Western History. II. 2. New.

Since, against seven courses omitted, thirteen new courses were offered, the net gain for the year was six. This, to the advocates of state and regional history, should be a gratifying increase. Yet it may be that, owing to the fact that some instructors do not list courses not given during the year for which the announcements are made, this increase is merely temporary. In order to discover if there has been any real advance during the

past five years, the catalogues of the year 1909-10 were examined. The results of this further investigation are noted in the following table. In some cases, where the 1909-10 catalogue was not to be found in the University of Colorado Library, another academic year was used. When this has been done, the fact is stated.

VI. State institutions and courses in state and regional history offered, catalogues of 1909-10.

1. North Atlantic Division.

   Because of the situation in 1913-14 and 1914-15, the catalogues of these institutions were not examined.

2. South Atlantic Division.

   University of Georgia.

   History of Georgia. II. 1.

   History of Georgia. I. 3.

   History of Georgia. II (?). 3. Graduate.

   University of South Carolina.

   No courses offered.

   University of Virginia.

   No courses offered.

   West Virginia University, 1907-8.

   History of West Virginia.

3. North Central Division.

   University of Illinois.

   The History of Illinois. I. 2.

   The History of Western Expansion, 1763-1818. II. Graduate.

   Indiana University.

   History of the West. II. 2.

   University of Iowa. 1908-9.

   Department of Political Science.

   Iowa History and Politics. I. 2.

   Research Work in Iowa History. 2 to 4.

   Advanced Research. 2 to 10. Graduate.

   University of Kansas.

   Seminar in American History. II. 3 to 5. Graduate.

   "Subjects . . . taken from the history of the trans-Missouri West."

University of Michigan.
No courses offered.
University of Minnesota.
No courses offered.
University of Missouri.
History of Missouri. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.
Seminary in Missouri History. 2 to 4. Graduate.
University of Nebraska.
Nebraska History. I. 2.
Public Lands, Policy, and Laws of the United States since 1789. I. 2.
Ohio State University. 1908-9.
The History of the West. Three terms. 2.
University of South Dakota. 1910-11.
History of the West. I. 2.
University of Wisconsin.
A History of the West to 1840. I. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.

4. South Central Division.
University of Kentucky.
No courses offered.
Louisiana State University.
History of Louisiana. I. 3.
The South and West. I. 3.
Historical Society. II. 1.
Topics in "local, state or southern history."
University of Mississippi.
Political History of the South, 1776-1830. One term. 2.
The South in Federal Politics, 1830-60. One term. 2.
The South in National Politics, 1860-1910. One term. 2.
Local History of Reconstruction in Mississippi. 3.
State Histories of Reconstruction in the South. 3.
All of the above undergraduate and graduate.
University of Oklahoma.
A Study of the Westward Expansion of Population. I. 3.

History of Oklahoma. I. 3.

University of Tennessee.

No courses offered.

University of Texas. 1910-11.

Spanish Colonization. Undergraduate and graduate.

Southwestern History. Undergraduate and graduate.

5. Western Division.

University of Arizona.

No courses offered.

University of California.

Seminary in Pacific Coast History. II. 2. Graduate.

University of Colorado.

No courses offered.

University of Idaho.

The Pacific Northwest. II. 2.

University of Montana.

No courses offered.

University of New Mexico.

No courses offered.

University of Oregon.

Pacific Slope History. II. 3.

University of Utah.

No courses offered.

University of Washington.

Northwestern History. II. 2.

Development of the Pacific. II. 4.

University of Wyoming.

Department of Political Economy.

Wyoming. II. 3. Undergraduate and graduate.

A comparison of table VI with the results of the previous investigations seems to reveal the fact that there has been a rapid increase in the interest in state and regional history, especially the latter, during the past five years. In 1913-14 there were but four institutions west of the Appalachian Mountains, the universi-

ties of Kentucky, with the reservation noted, Michigan, New Mexico, and Tennessee which failed to offer such courses. In 1914-15 Arizona was added to the list. On the other hand, in the catalogues of 1909-10, the universities of Arizona, Colorado, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Mexico, Tennessee, and Utah, nine in all, did not offer either state or regional history. There has, therefore, been a clear gain of four institutions offering courses of the character described. This spread of interest into new lands has been accompanied by a large increase in the number of courses offered in the various institutions. Counting only those institutions for which both the 1909-10 and 1914-15 catalogues were found, the courses in state and regional history have increased over two-fold. When it is considered that many of the departments of history in institutions west of the Mississippi are undermanned and offer instruction only along lines which are felt to be fundamental, this increase is very illuminating. With few exceptions the departments that are sufficiently manned are devoting considerable attention to the history either of their state or of their section of the country.

If the main purpose of the establishment of departments of state history in state universities is to arouse an interest in the subject, it seems to be unnecessary to begin a vigorous campaign for such departments when it can be shown that the present departments of history are giving so much instruction in state and regional history. The committee, for the reasons stated below, is opposed to the idea of such special departments, yet if the progress towards an adequate treatment of state and regional history continues to be as rapid as this investigation seems to show, such departments may be evolved in time as a result of a natural demand. At the present time they would require additional appropriations from university funds which are already overburdened with

demands; they would serve to draw attention from the need of further broadening the field of instruction in more fundamental branches of history and they would not, in the opinion of the committee, serve the purpose for which they were created. It would seem to be somewhat the same with the research courses referred to the consideration of the committee. There are already several of this class of courses being given in the state institutions of the Mississippi Valley, and without further attempting to force their adoption elsewhere, it might be possible for the officers of the Association to open relations with such departments of history as already supervise such research work. The experiment, if tried, might pave the way for definite recommendations of expansion.

The larger problem of the means to be used in arousing the interest of the people of the states in the history of their section of the country has yet to be carefully studied; but, as has already been indicated, this is not within the province of the present committee. Historical and other societies are attempting to solve it, all too often without any effective assistance from the departments of history of the state universities. The results of the study of the extent of this coöperation, now being made by another committee of this Association, combined with this investigation of the work done by the teaching departments, ought to pave the way for more definite recommendations. At least, they will help to clear the ground in preparation for more systematic work on the subject.

The committee has reached certain conclusions which it presents to the Association in the place of formal recommendations. These are as follows:

1. In our opinion the formation of a distinct teaching department of state history in our state universities is not desirable. From the educational point of view it suggests undue

specialization on the part both of instructors and students, a tendency which has already been pushed to undesirable limits during recent years. Even from the point of view of those especially interested in state history, this complete separation of work in local history from the wider field seems likely to be injurious, weakening the sense of proportion both of instructor and student, and tending to give to research itself a narrow and superficial character. In this conclusion we are in line with the existing practice of the institutions of the Mississippi Valley.

2. On the other hand it is possible and desirable for most departments of history in state universities to offer at least one course in which the history of the state may be studied, even by undergraduates. A number of courses of this kind are already offered. It is even more desirable that courses in regional history should be offered as soon as the equipment of the departments of history makes it possible.

3. The departments of history of the state universities should assume a special, though by no means an exclusive, obligation to foster research in the history of their own commonwealths and to utilize those materials which lie nearest at hand. This may be done either independently or in coöperation with the departments of political science and economics in the same university or by some kind of working relation with other state agencies, such as the state historical society.

The Committee on the Establishment of Departments of State History in State Universities, having completed the task assigned it, respectfully requests that it be discharged.

For the committee,

James F. Willard, *Chairman*

PAPERS READ AT THE DECEMBER MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Chicago, Illinois, December 28-31, 1914)

THE AGRARIAN HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AS A SUBJECT FOR RESEARCH

By William J. Trimble

The United States has reached a stage in its development which may afford opportunities for the investigation and interpretation of its history on a scale more comprehensive and with a finality more assured than ever before. The passing of the easily available public domain has brought to an end the first great era of our national history. The last two decades have been characterized by perturbations attendant upon new conditions. There are indications that the American people have passed the more severe perplexities of the process of adjustment, laid down broadly the policies which are to control in the new period, and are now about to enter upon a growth less hurried and perhaps better meditated than that of the past. The new period may furnish a favorable atmosphere to historians for bringing to fuller fruition the choice labors of the past; for interpreting that past with a somewhat broader range of vision than was possible to scholars in the unmatured era; and for incorporating into the body of our history important elements hitherto overlooked. One of these elements may be the agrarian history of the United States.

By agrarian history I do not mean the bare consideration of the development of the technique of agriculture, though that has an important place; but I have in view, also, wider study of laws, politics, transportation, markets, production, and correlated manufactures; education, religion, social movements, and ideals; types of society — all of these studied sympathetically in their re-

lation to agriculture as focal and measurably determinative, rather than as merely subsidiary and tangential. In other words, I would have the facts of our agrarian history considered from the inside out rather than from the outside in. An example is afforded in Prothero's treatment of English history in his *English Agriculture Past and Present.* Such a conception, however, emphasizes a systematic, conscious method of approach rather than the entrance upon an entirely new field; for many of the facts of our agrarian history have been considered in other connections. But this method of approach undoubtedly involves also investigations on new lines, the acquisition of much new data, and the reëstimation of old.

The leading occupation of the people of the United States, as they possessed themselves of the continent, was agriculture. If it be true that the occupations of a people and their response to physical environment in the pursuit of these occupations largely mould society and shape politics, then it is also true that an adequate history of our nation (as, indeed, of most nations) must deal extensively and familiarly with the facts of agricultural history. This is not now the case. The history of agriculture in the United States, declares Wright in his valuable monograph on *Wool-Growing and the Tariff*, "has suffered from the most amazing neglect," and Dr Ely in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1914, remarks that, "Strangely enough one of the very greatest fields of research has been, comparatively speaking, unworked, one which will prove particularly fruitful, and that is the field of agriculture."

There can be no doubt, at least, of the importance of this phase in the history of the Mississippi Valley; for here the dominance of agriculture is clear. Considered broadly, on a scale befitting our prairies, the history of agriculture in the Mississippi Valley holds forth an in

viting prospect — the first rude wrestling of its earliest agriculture, after the older fashion, with the density of the woodland; the growing appreciation of semi-prairie regions; that wonderful emergence upon the prairies, one of the great steps in the world history of agriculture; the preëminence of corn as it took possession of the flat river valleys and then moved out upon the black prairies; the vast extension of the cattle industry with its new methods and unique types of life; the rise of specialized agriculture; the growth of the wheat industry, as great forces of production here converged; the application of machinery on a scale and with a skill unmatched in history; finally, the leap forward in total volume of production, a prodigious fact not only in the history of the United States, but in the history of the modern world. Consider, also, tributary and auxiliary developments, such as the rise of packing and milling centers, the growth of transportation, the spread of the unique and characteristic manufacture of agricultural implements, and affiliations with mining and lumbering. Have we not in such history an indispensable background for the biography of many a statesman, and for the history of more than one political movement?

Indeed, such history reveals some new and engaging aspects of men already prominent in American history and brings into focus new characters. Men like Jesse Buel and Peter Gideon and Solon Robinson may not unworthily come into the ken of students of history. New facts, it may be surmised, will emerge in the course of investigation, and others will be broadened in significance. I wonder how many of our historians, even of those familiar with New England, know the location of the famous Brighton Market, a picturesque gathering in the forties to which stockmen from many states converged? Another fact, of more far-reaching consequence, may be cited. One of the most enduring of human institutions

has been that typical unit of agricultural organization which formed the framework of agricultural society throughout Europe. Founded upon the necessities of an agriculture which was almost destitute of machinery and which lacked artificial grasses and crops suitable for soil sanitation, it evolved in remote ages and in diverse places, appearing in the mir, the villa, and the manor. In all the vicissitudes of governments and societies it seldom suffered dislocation and always tended to revert to type. How stubbornly this common-field system withstood new conditions is abundantly illustrated in the agricultural history of England. Now, Englishmen who started the American settlements in the seventeenth century were thoroughly accustomed to this system of tillage; and in both Virginia and New England it was initiated. But one of the most significant facts in the agricultural history of the United States is that this age-long system broke down in the presence of vast new lands and of new crops. Some of the results, due in part at least to this revolution in agricultural organization, were: general ownership of land in fee simple; ease in transfer of title; loosening of community bonds and development of habits of isolation and of extreme individualism; fluidity of agricultural population; quick responsiveness to new ideas; atrophy of coöperative ability. The adaptation of machinery to agriculture was facilitated, while, on the other hand, the working out of a system of rural credits and other coöperative enterprises has been rendered more difficult.

In addition to the need for research in agricultural history there is demand. A paradox, indeed, has appeared in the recent development of agriculture in this country — the less important it becomes proportionately the more important it becomes intrinsically. A revolution has occurred. Whereas formerly men who wanted large opportunities sought them in the openings of urban

life, now far-sighted men often turn to agriculture, either directly or in affiliated professions. The farming class is coming to dignity and self-consciousness; and classes, like individuals, when they attain position, look around for genealogies. Thousands of cultured men are being employed in the new agriculture by the national and state governments and by local communities. In particular, agricultural economists insistently demand agricultural history as an indispensable prerequisite to their work. Consider also that to inducements already inciting men to agricultural professions there will now be added the stimulus of the system outlined in the Smith-Lever Bill. The next decade will see, one may hazard, greatly increased numbers graduating from our land-grant institutions.

A third and urgent reason for research into the agrarian history of the United States is that such history is needed to point the way for right methods of future advance. In agriculture as in everything else history, revealing the values of the past, helps to curb the conceit of the present; for as Weyl says: "The heirs of all the ages are spoilt children valuing only their newest toys." "We think our fathers fools," quotes an old horticulturist, "so wise we grow. Our wiser sons, no doubt, will think us so." The perusal of some of our agricultural literature, I think, tends to heighten our estimate of our fathers in agriculture, and even the very newest scientist may be surprised to find in it so many hints, so much practical knowledge. One special bearing of our agricultural history, however, may be pointed out. Our land system is now just entering upon its formative period. That term, I am aware, is usually applied to that series of acts and those policies in accordance with which titles to public lands were alienated to individuals. Extremely important these, and they press for research. But there are ahead of us questions of land tenure, tenancy, size of

farms, landlordism and like matters, which have an importance and complexity such as we have never experienced in the epoch of free lands. These questions go to the heart of our country's life, and I am sure that in dealing with them no statesman is competent who has not a broad knowledge of agrarian history.

No paper concerned with our agrarian history should omit cordial recognition of work already done. Incidental and often illuminating allusions appear in most historical compositions, and these are the more elaborate in later productions. In others the subject is integral, as in the path-breaking work of Professor Bogart and the comprehensive presentation of social and industrial history by Professor Fite. If time allowed, others should be mentioned under this head. Indispensable to our agrarian history is the work of our honored pioneers in the history of the West. A discussion of the correlations and distinctions of these two broad phases of our history would of itself furnish material for a paper.

Bibliographical mention of direct work on agrarian history occurs in Professor Buck's survey of "Historical Activities" in the first number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. To this might be added, among others, Miss Ford's *Colonial Precedents of the Federal Land System*, Brooks's *Agrarian Revolution*, Coulter's *History of Agriculture in the Red River Valley*, and especially Wright's masterly treatise on *Wool-growing and the Tariff*. The scholarship of Professor Phillips has made available in the first two volumes of the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* material of great value on the agrarian history of the South. One must deplore, however, the lack in a work with the above title of such material for the agriculture of the North, except as it is presented from the point of view of organized labor. Professor Sanford has in manuscript,

"The Story of American Agriculture." This, while intended primarily for young readers and laymen, nevertheless is a product of sound scholarship well worthy of perusal by the specialist. It is especially strong on the colonial period. The most extensive undertaking is that in progress under the auspices of the department of economics and sociology of the Carnegie Institution. In addition to the captions under which this work is being carried on which are given in Professor Buck's survey, Prof. L. C. Gray (now of the University of Saskatchewan) has investigated, as a part of the work at the University of Wisconsin, the history of southern agriculture from the "beginning of the plantation economy in the West Indies to the Civil War." In the course of the historical activities of the Department of Agricultural Economics of the University of Wisconsin interesting collections of materials are being formed. The files of excerpts are of special value.

While the work already done on our agrarian history is of great value, it can be considered scarcely more than a beginning. The scantiness of the literature on the subject may be inferred from a perusal of the titles in the far-searching *Guide to American History*. Lacunæ due to inadequate information exist even in our most comprehensive historical productions. Information, moreover, is often derived from untested sources, an example of this practice being offered in the frequent use of Flint's *Hundred Years' Progress*. Monographic treatment of special fields and phases is urgently needed and offers good opportunities. Adequate treatment of our agrarian history, indeed, will require a long process of development and the systematic coöperation of many workers.

The sources are abundant, particularly in later development, but are scattered widely. Much fugitive information is to be derived, of course, from all sorts of

sources, as in biographical material, personal letters, general official reports, and letters of travelers. Of such nature, in particular, are the sources in the colonial period. After the rise of agricultural societies subsequent to the Revolution and the beginning of the agricultural press in 1819, the sources become increasingly specialized. In 1839 H. L. Ellsworth, commissioner of patents, who was much interested in agriculture, succeeded in getting from Congress an appropriation of $1,000 for a report on agriculture, and thereafter until 1862 one volume of the annual reports of the Patent Office was devoted to agriculture. After 1862 the reports were issued by the commissioner of agriculture. The census reports since 1840 are likewise fundamental. We must not omit mention, also, of the many almanacs, farmers' "Guides" and "Companions" (some of them Americanized editions of English works) and of such special books as Beatty's *Essays on Practical Agriculture* and Caird's *Prairie Farming.*

In bringing this paper to its conclusion, may I venture to set forth what may be the necessary qualifications for him who is to investigate and present agrarian history?

In the first place this work seems to me to pertain ultimately more to the province of the historian than to that of the agricultural economist. The latter is leading the way now to be sure, but more because from need than from inclination. Of course, no hard and fast provincial lines can be run between these specialized fields; historians of catholic mind receive in fellowship all sincere workers whether worshiping at Mt. Gerizim or at Jerusalem. On the other hand, agricultural economists are broad-minded men who conceive of history in no dehumanizing fashion. But the agricultural economists are constantly drawn away from their pursuit of agricultural history, comparatively few have the training for doing

the work right, and I think that they would prefer that historians should do the work if the latter would cease apathy, eschew dilettanteism, and pay more attention to the things that the economists must have.

If historians are to do the work they must be equipped in two ways. He who would prosecute successfully agrarian history must of course be a real historian. I need not say that he must have, therefore, wide and exact scholarship, nor that he should be a master of choice and polished expression. At bottom, beyond doubt, should be the passion for historical research, and this involves a spirit of response to historical data; unrest with superficial facts; a keen scent, as it were, for tracing facts to their uttermost lairs; a delight in the process of historical research; and inward renewal under long-continued labor. The true historian is a creator. Taking his facts, he weighs them, judges them; but in no mechanical fashion. In his mind the past lives again. He is continually remoulding the body of his thought as he gains new insight and broader comprehension. There is a constant process of assignment and balancing. Over all and through all, vivifying all, penetrating all, plays the light of imagination — for without this qualification a man may be a very useful chronicler or compiler, but he is *not* a historian. A historian has kinship with the poet and the artist. And just as these have often done their noblest work on the subjects of everyday life, so the historian does not demean himself in trying to investigate and interpret the humble facts of agrarian development.

But the historian must understand and sympathize with the life which he seeks to portray. "Agrarian history, as such," writes Prof. Henry C. Taylor, "while it should be written by one with historical training, requires that one's point of view be economic and agricultural, rather than political." He who studies agrarian

history, therefore, must be on familiar terms with agricultural life, and with the technique of agriculture. If the term summer-fallow, for example, comes only vaguely to his mind, he will not be able to deal clearly with the open-field system. He must know vitally his agricultural economics and rural sociology, and the problems connected therewith. He must have some conception of the *statesmanship* of agriculture. Fortunately many students in history have been reared on the farm and can acquire easily the point of view required. Moreover, as departments of agricultural economics develop in our large universities, it would seem most proper that a graduate student having a major in history might choose agricultural economics as a minor.

Finally, the investigator of the agrarian history of the United States must know well the agrarian history of other countries. That of England is indispensable. And no one can understand the great contribution of Germans to our agriculture until he knows something of the history of German agriculture. We shall find insistent also the demand for knowledge of the history of our competitors — Russia, Australia, Argentine. An example of the necessity and method of such work occurs in Wright's *Wool-Growing and the Tariff*. In fact agrarian history, as all history, ever calls farther, and he who pursues it will find his comprehension continually broadening.

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(New Orleans, Louisiana, April 22-24, 1915)

SHATALA: NOTES ON A CHICKASAW TOWN NAME

By H. S. Halbert

In Bernard Romans' list of Chickasaw towns, there is one named Chatelaw, and in James Adair's list, one named Shatara. There is no doubt that these two names refer to one and the same town. In writing Indian names Romans always writes "ch" for "sh." In like manner, Adair always substitutes an "r" for an "l." Hence this town name, restored to its correct orthography, is Shatala.

In Dr. Lyman C. Draper's manuscript "Contribution to the History of the Chickasaw Indians," the name of the town is written "Tishatulla," with the translation, "Post-Oak grove." In Choctaw "schisha" signifies "post-oak," of which "tisha" seems to be the dialectic Chickasaw form. "Tala" and "talaiya," both forms used indiscriminately, are the passives of the active verb, "talali," "to set," "to put." These passives are often affixed to material things to show that they exist, *fixed* or *set there*. To make a local name, they are often affixed to the names of trees. Examples are: "Kafi-talaiya," "sassafras fixed there," that is, "sassafras thicket" or "sassafras grove"; "Tiak talaiya," "pine grove." "Chishatala" or "Tishatala" may well be translated "post-oak grove."

In ordinary speech the first syllable of Tisha was no doubt often omitted, and the Chickasaw, instead of saying "Tishatala," simply said "Shatala." Dr. Draper received the uncontracted form from the noted Indian countryman, Malcolm McGee. He states that the town

was located on Copper Creek, and that it was sometimes called Coppertown.

Draper's location of the town, in connection with other statements in his "Contributions," and the statements of Romans and Adair, may furnish the clue whereby the approximate location of all the Chickasaw towns may be ascertained. Their location, so far, is the unsolved problem in Chickasaw history.

THE INDIAN POLICY OF BERNARDO DE GALVEZ

By Elizabeth Howard West

"When Viceroy Galvez assumed control over the Provincias Internas," says Bancroft, "he introduced some important changes of policy, as fully set forth in his elaborate instructions of Aug. 26, 1786, to General Ugarte y Loyola."[1] It is the purpose of this paper to outline and discuss briefly in its general aspects the matured Indian policy of Bernardo de Galvez, the Conde de Galvez, Viceroy of New Spain, as set forth in these instructions to Ugarte y Loyola for his conduct as Commandant-General of the Internal Provinces of New Spain.

The Internal Provinces were at this time subordinate to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, instead of being practically independent, as they had been at their organization in 1776, so that Galvez had here an opportunity to formulate and put into practical effect the ideas which he had gathered through his years of experience as military commander and as civil administrator.

Omitting the sections dealing with local conditions, one may summarize the general points of the *Instrucción* as follows:

The military force of the Internal Provinces was to be reorganized and greatly strengthened; this force was to be judiciously used to keep the Indians in check.

No campaign should be begun until it could be vigorously prosecuted. Until the hostile Apache should

[1] The full title of the instructions here referred to is: *Instrucción Formada en virtud de Real Orden de S. M., que se dirige al Señor Comandante General de Provincias Internas Don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola para gobierno y puntual observancia de este Superior Gefe y de sus immediatos Subalternos.*

be entirely subjugated or exterminated, the military strength of the Internal Provinces was to be massed against them; in the case of less troublesome enemies, such as the Yuma along the Colorado River, dissimulation was proper, in order to obviate an outbreak before the close of the Apache war; in the case of the friendly Indians of the North, every effort should be made to keep the peace.

Peace was to be granted, on the most favorable terms, to all Indians who sued for it; its terms should be most scrupulously observed by the Spanish, and every effort should be made to hold the Indians to good faith also. Minor delinquencies, however, should be overlooked as due to the ignorance of the Indians, since even a bad peace was far preferable to a good war; serious breaches of the peace were to be punished as rigorously as the Spanish military strength would permit.

Peace being based upon mutual self-interest, systematic efforts should be made to render the Indians as dependent as possible upon the Spanish by satisfying their present desires and creating new ones. To this end, a strictly regulated trade should be introduced as rapidly as possible; pending its firm establishment, presents were to be supplied at the expense of the royal treasury, according to a regular schedule, to supply their present needs. Stock-raising was likewise to be encouraged as removing one incentive to robbery. A liking for intoxicating liquors was to be cultivated, to bring profit to the traders, gain the good will of the Indians, lower their efficiency as fighters, and increase their dependence upon the Spanish. Firearms and ammunition were to be another means of increasing their dependence and lowering their fighting efficiency. The firearms sold to them were to be showy to catch the Indians' fancy, long and clumsy, as being less effective in battle, more subject to accidents requiring the services of a Spanish gunsmith

to repair; ammunition was to be furnished regularly and abundantly.

The Indians should be set against one another for their mutual destruction; in line with this policy, tribal and intertribal factions and feuds were to be skilfully manipulated to the advantage of the Spanish.

Or, more briefly stated in his own words:

> Waging incessant war upon the avowed enemy, one will succeed in chastising them, checking them, intimidating them to the point at which they will either remove from our frontiers or solicit peace; this being conceded, they shall be gently drawn toward the pleasures of rational life, and to forced dependence upon us by the interesting means of trade, and of discreet and opportune gifts; peace being broken because of the fickleness of the Indian or because his bad faith shall become insufferable, we shall return with reason to incessant, pitiless war, this and peace alternating as often as the conduct, now haughty, now humble, of the barbarous nations shall require.
>
> These are the principles upon which the system provided is essentially based; they appear to me correct; I conceive also that it is right to employ the ancient hatred, the factional interest, the inconstancy and the perfidy of the Gentile nations, in order that they may destroy one another with reciprocal hostilities.

Notwithstanding the cold-blooded character of these general instructions, Galvez had so much of genuine human kindness in his nature that he could not altogether refrain from expressing it, even in this formal official document. In speaking of relations with the Tarahumares, for example, he expresses the belief that the current suspicions of the good faith of these Indians is exaggerated, for ignorance often occasions an Indian's conviction of crimes he has not committed; and suggests that a thorough understanding and kind treatment will accomplish far more than "ill-considered harshness."

It would be an interesting task to trace to their exact origin the details of the policy set forth in this epoch-making document; it is possible in this paper, however,

only to indicate briefly the main sources of the Viceroy's inspiration.

One naturally turns first to the *Recopilación* of 1774, which, printed only twelve years before, would naturally be supposed to have influenced Galvez; one succeeds, however, only in finding out how far away from this code of the idealist the practical man of affairs has traveled. Save for a general agreement in the matter of treating peaceful Indians kindly and indulgently, and attempting to civilize them, there are in these two documents only two points of contact; and at these two points they are at cross-purposes, for the *Recopilación* forbids the furnishing of wine or firearms to the Indians, which the *Instrucción* distinctly sets forth as most desirable.

In his introduction Galvez himself cites as his sources the "knowledge and experience" gained in his "military command of Nueva Vizcaya" and in "frequent personal campaigns and fatigues" on the border of that province and of Sonora, information gained from "various persons of intelligence, zeal, and character . . . the evidence of official letters and expedientes"; in sections 29 and 34 he cites the policy of the conquistadores. These sources will account satisfactorily enough for the policy on its military side; to explain other phases — the establishment of a trading system, the systematic giving of presents, the fomentation of internal dissensions among the Indians for their own destruction — one must look to his experience in Louisiana and the Floridas. In sections 43 and 66, indeed, he distinctly adduces governmental experience in the newly acquired colonies of Spain as arguments in favor of his proposals regarding Indian presents and trade respectively.

Galvez's connection with Louisiana and the Floridas, the new acquisitions to which he refers, as military commander and civil governor, and as captain-general of Cuba, had given him thorough acquaintance with the system there followed by the Spanish government.

In Louisiana he had come into contact with a system which was essentially French, and which had been adopted by the Spanish after dispossessing the French as a result of the French and Indian War — a "method of control," as Dr. Bolton puts it in the introduction to his *Athanase de Mézières*, "through the fur trade and presents, with a good many modifications in the directions of greater equity for the white men and greater humanity toward the natives." In the Floridas he had found an English system which was also based upon the French, its chief features being a well-developed trade, and presents regularly provided for by annual appropriations. As in Louisiana, this system had been adopted as one phase of the reorganization necessary in consequence of the territorial changes brought about by the French and Indian War.

It was not pleasant for the English officers to have to take up French ways. Maj. Robert Farmar writes the secretary of war on Jan. 24, 1764:

> The French have established an interest with the Indians that will not be removed without observing a very uniform steady conduct with them, sacrificing every thought of social enjoyment, and conforming in a great degree with the vile custom the French have introduced. Your house constantly open to them, giving them victuals whenever they ask it, and the Government making them annually considerable presents . . .

Recognizing the necessity, however, they proceeded with characteristic English thoroughness; and, having the good fortune to find for the Indian superintendency in the southern country John Stuart, second only to Sir William Johnson in his grasp of Indian affairs, the English succeeded in securing in the Floridas a strong hold upon the Indian tribes through a well-developed Indian trade and by generous provision for presents and entertainment. William Panton in a letter to Carondelet of April 16, 1792, somewhat vaguely estimated, without citing his authority, that the annual expenditures of the

English government for presents and provisions totaled over £20,000 sterling, £70,000 in time of war. In West Florida alone, the estimate of the civil establishment for each of the eleven years between 1763 and 1781 regarding which I have been able to find figures was £1,000 for the Indian fund, and £1,000 for unforeseen contingent expenses. In view of its effect upon Spanish policy, however, the most interesting feature of the English system in the Floridas when Galvez was put in authority over them was the Indian-trade monopoly which the government had granted to a firm of Scotch traders styled Panton, Leslie & Company. These enterprising traders had built up a trade with the Indian tribes along the Gulf shore and well into the interior. Here, as in the case of Louisiana, the Spanish government took the machinery already in use and adapted it for their own purposes. Panton, Leslie & Company, therefore, under very liberal terms, from the Spanish point of view, continued their monopoly as long as the Spanish held the Floridas; and their influence with the Indian tribes of the Floridas was one of the most important means of conserving the Spanish interests in this region during the thirty-seven years before the surrender of the whole country to the United States.

It is but natural, therefore, that the far-seeing Galvez should see the advantages of this system, in which the principal features were a systematic giving of presents and entertainment as a present expedient, and a well-organized trade, ultimately to be worked out, as the principal means of control. That he did think along this line even while governor of Louisiana is proved by the following passage from a letter to José de Galvez, Spanish secretary of state, dated Oct. 24, 1778:

> The knowledge which I have acquired since I have been in this colony of the way in which the English and French treat or have treated their Indians impels me to desire that in our other establishments they should be treated in the same way. I

do not know whether under the present circumstances the method could be installed of keeping them friendly by means of presents; if it should be possible to do so, the King would keep them very contented for ten years with what he spends in one year in making war upon them; in addition to this advantage and the innumerable advantages which our Internal Provinces would gain, the Indians would forget how to make war upon us; and, a sort of luxury being introduced among them by means of commerce, they would reach the point, as have all in this province, of being unable to do without us, because they have learned sundry conveniences of life of whose existence they previously knew nothing, and which now they look upon as indispensable. Moreover, they would have the same experience as the Indians here, who becoming accustomed to guns and powder, have forgotten the use and construction of their bows and arrows, knowing no other arms than those we give them, living exposed to the danger of being disarmed and dying of hunger from any moment when in common accord we European nations should cease to give them the powder they need. I know that years would pass before the frontier Indians of New Spain would reach this point, and that we should not see them do so in our own time. But the life of kingdoms is long; and so long as the glorious house of Bourbon shall reign and the ministry be held by men so devoted to their sovereign and to their country as Your Excellency, we must hope that the kingdom of Spain may continue for many centuries in splendor, and that this system may contribute greatly to the security and happiness of her vassals.

It was almost eight years before he had an opportunity to put these theories to a practical test in the actual government of the Internal Provinces. The event proved his wisdom; for, despite his death only a few months after the issuance of the *Instrucción*, the documents of New Mexico and Texas show for years the energizing effect of his policy here instituted — an influence more or less apparent until the Spanish hold upon the country was weakened and finally broken by the disaffection of the Spanish-American colonists.

THE LOYALISTS IN WEST FLORIDA AND THE NATCHEZ DISTRICT

By Wilbur H. Siebert

During the period from 1764 to 1781 West Florida was a British province, and embraced a large part of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, extending somewhat northward of the site of Montgomery, Alabama. Capt. George Johnstone arrived at Pensacola as the first governor under the new régime in February, 1764, accompanied by a British regiment and many Highlanders from Charleston and New York. He at once organized the civil government and garrisoned Fort Charlotte at Mobile, Fort Bute at Manchac, and Fort Panmure at Natchez. The English authorities encouraged immigration and numerous settlers came in before the Revolution from the Carolinas and Georgia, from Great Britain and the British West Indies, from New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia, and even from the New England colonies. These settlers formed communities between Manchac and Baton Rouge, in the Natchez country, and in the region drained by the Bayou Sara, the Homochitto, and the Bayou Pierre. In November, 1776, a fresh contingent of New Englanders, led by Capt. Matthew Phelps, settled on the Big Black River. Many Highlanders who had joined the royal standard under Brig.-Gen. Donald McDonald in North Carolina, Feb. 1, 1776, only to be defeated by the state troops, took refuge in West Florida soon after. Of the people who established homes on the shores of the Tombigbee and Mobile Bay large numbers were adherents of the British cause, who had fled hither through the trackless forests from Georgia and South

Carolina in the early days of the Revolution. Other refugees from the same colonies located on the Tensaw River and Lake, where a settlement grew up which is said to have approached Mobile in population.[1]

When William Bartram, the botanist, visited Mobile in the summer of 1777, he found it the center of an extensive trade with the Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creeks, with a population consisting of a few French and a larger number of people from the northern colonies and Great Britain. The town then extended back from the river nearly half a mile, but contained some vacant houses and others that were in ruins. Pensacola was already a place of several hundred habitations, including the governor's stone mansion with its tower, and the spacious residences occupied by the provincial secretary and certain prosperous merchants and professional men. The officers' houses, together with the council chamber and the barracks for the garrison, were all within the stockaded, tetragonal fortress.

Gathered from all parts of the British dominions, largely cut off from intercourse with the other American colonies, and surrounded by numerous Indian tribes, the white population of West Florida, like that of its sister province to the eastward, had in general no desire to join in the Revolution. But there was danger of an outside attack on the Floridas, and the British commander in chief, Gen. William Howe, desired, therefore, that the Indians should be secured for their defense. He clearly expressed this desire in his orders of Aug. 25, 1776, both to Gov. Patrick Tonyn at St. Augustine and to Col. John Stuart, the superintendent of Indian affairs at Pensacola. The friendship of the tribes if secured, was, however, to be strongly supported by the troops already

[1] A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Period*, 320, 323, 331, 332, 334, 336, 339; John F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi As a Province, Territory, and State*, 94, 102, 109, 135, 416.

in West Florida, which were supplemented in the fall of 1776 by the arrival of the Royal American Regiment, a corps of loyalists recently raised by Col. Beverly Robinson in New Jersey and New York. Notwithstanding official intimations that there were some enemies of the Crown even in West Florida, Howe was disposed to rely for the present mainly on the troops in the peninsula, and the savages. In order to secure unity of action, all the troops in this region were placed under the command of Brig.-Gen. Augustine Prevost in May, 1777.[2]

But already the cloud that was to prove ruinous to British interests in the twin provinces had appeared to the southward. The King's armed sloop, "West Florida," had given offense in the previous April to the Spanish governor of Louisiana by seizing some small vessels containing cargoes of wine and tobacco, and Galvez had retaliated by the seizure of all the English shipping he could find in the Mississippi, on the score that it was engaged in the contraband trade. This breach of relations was followed by the erection of temporary works and new barracks at Pensacola, the holding of a council with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations at Mobile, and the hurried dispatch of two ships from New York, one loaded with provisions and the other with presents for the Indians. By the succeeding November the revolutionary party of Georgia, through the agency of George Galphin, its superintendent of Indian affairs, was threatening the Cherokee with destruction for their attachment to the royal cause, while it had already seduced the northern Creeks from their allegiance to England. In consequence, Colonel Stuart issued a proclamation forbidding trade with this nation, particularly the trade in rum, and proceeded to embody two companies of refugees, one a

[2] Alexander B. Meek, *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History*, 89; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 342; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, I, 56, 73, 84, 107, 108, cited hereafter as *Report on Amer. Mss.*

troop of light-horsemen under the command of Alexander Cameron, the other company being placed in charge of Capt. Richard Pearis, himself a fugitive from the vicinity of Charleston, who had entered West Florida a few months before in company with six others. The duty assigned to the second of these companies of refugee loyalists was the suppression of the rum trade at Mobile Bay.[3]

The withdrawal of all traders from the Creek nation brought in 600 Indians from the friendly towns of the lower Creeks, together with a deputation from the rebellious Cupitalis. Numerous conferences followed, and when the highly educated and influential half-breed chief of the Creeks, Alexander McGillivray, appeared at Pensacola, bearing a message of repentance from the Oakfuskee, another of the rebellious tribes, McGillivray was sent back with an invitation for the Oakfuskee chiefs to come and meet Colonel Stuart in council. Meanwhile, Pensacola had become the rendezvous of many of the Creeks and 500 of the Cherokee, the latter having arrived in a naked and forlorn condition. The principal chiefs among the disaffected tribes appear to have seized the earliest opportunity to return to their allegiance to the Crown, besides taking immediate steps to expel the few American traders, whom Galphin had recently sent among them. The Seminole Creeks had not wavered in their loyalty and were now (early in February, 1778) being solicited by Colonel Stuart to be prepared for action when they should be summoned. The sufferings of the Cherokee under the wrath of the Georgians and their prompt relief by the superintendent of Indian affairs rendered them obedient to the latter's demands for active service on occasion, and parties of the Choctaw and Chickasaw, accompanied by a few whites, were already

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 118, 123, 137, 147, 182, 186, 187; L. L. Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials, and Legends*, II, 538.

scouting on the Mississippi River, while large bands of the Cowetas, according to McGillivray, were demonstrating their loyalty by attacks upon the revolutionists.[4]

Whatever duties the scouting parties of the Chickasaw and Choctaw may have performed, they failed to afford the protection then needed by the settlements on the lower Mississippi, including those of the Natchez District. This district, with which we are specially concerned here, extended a distance of 110 miles up the river from Loftus Cliffs to the mouth of the Yazoo, being ten miles wide at the upper end and forty at the lower. Besides the people from New England and elsewhere who settled in this region before the Revolution and in the fall of 1776, numerous Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina also entered the Natchez country, in order to escape from the divided sentiments of friends and neighbors in the colonies from which they came. In 1776 the town of Natchez was already in existence, but contained only twenty log and frame houses, which were all on the river bottom below the bluff. This small village could boast of four merchants, one of the number being James Willing, who had removed hither from Pennsylvania in 1774. Three years later Willing returned to Philadelphia, where his family was prominent in colonial affairs, and obtained from Congress a commission as captain in the navy for the purpose of undertaking an expedition down the Mississippi to win the inhabitants along its banks to neutrality and to bring back provisions. As a former resident and trader in the district, Willing enjoyed a wide acquaintance among the older settlers on the river, and many of the new families had moved in since the war began precisely because they were disinclined to take sides against friends and kindred in their old neighborhoods. Others had come, however, because their loyalty to the King had rendered

[4] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 189, 190, 197, 199, 204, 206.

them obnoxious to the Whigs in the states where they had previously lived.[5]

On Jan. 10, 1778, Captain Willing embarked at Pittsburgh in an armed boat called the "Rattletrap" with a "crew" of twenty-eight or twenty-nine men. Six weeks later he was at Natchez, where on February 21 he received the capitulation of William Hiorn and seven others, who are described in the original document as "delegates" for the district. Gov. Peter Chester wrote a long letter from Pensacola under date of March 21, to Major-General Prevost at St. Augustine concerning Willing's activities. In this letter the Governor states that the rebel captain had been able to increase his force to about one hundred men on his way down the Ohio and Mississippi, and by sending detachments into the Natchez country had succeeded in taking the magistrates and persons of influence by surprise, thus extracting from them an engagement of neutrality. The Americans had then proceeded down the river, taking with them the negroes and other property of Col. Anthony Hutchens, and on February 23 an advanced detachment of the rebels had seized the armed ship "Rebecca" at Manchac and made the inhabitants of that settlement prisoners on their parole. Meanwhile the remainder of the invading company, which was joined by several men from the Natchez settlement and a number of French and Spanish bateau men, together with other banditti, "laid waste" all the settlements from Manchac to Pointe Coupée, burning several houses and, except in a few instances, appropriating the property of the inhabitants. With this booty a detachment went on to New Orleans, where — according to report — it was to be auctioned off by Oliver Pollock, the agent of the American Congress. Below New Orleans this detachment had captured the brig "Neptune,"

[5] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 213; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 95, 103, 113, 115, 116, 135; Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, 191, note 62.

its numbers having increased on the way down the river to between three hundred and four hundred men, according to the latest reports received by Governor Chester.[6]

The Governor had taken immediate action by sending the King's war sloops "Sylph" and "Hound" to the Mississippi to intercept other rebel craft that might be coming to the support of Willing's party, and to demand from the governor of Louisiana the restitution of the property brought by the Americans into his territory. At the same time he had remonstrated against Galvez's affording protection or furnishing supplies to the rebels. Inasmuch as Governor Chester had received word that a force of 2,000 or 3,000 men was preparing to descend upon West Florida from Pittsburgh in the following May, he suggested to General Prevost that one of the sloops be ordered up the river to Manchac to obstruct the passage of the Pittsburgh contingent and also prevent the return of Captain Willing and his men. That Willing's depredations among the settlements on the Mississippi had produced a result very different from that intended by the American Congress appears from the circumstance that the inhabitants of the Natchez District now appealed to Governor Chester to send them 100 men from the garrison at Pensacola, in order that they might break their neutrality and resist the rebels, while the settlers at Mobile also applied for reënforcements. Colonel Stuart sent one of his commissaries to set the Indians in motion, and the Governor took steps to raise a new corps of loyalists for the expedition to the Natchez. He also requested General Prevost to send as many troops as could be spared from St. Augustine, in order that a detachment might be supplied to Mobile and the garrison at Natchez might be strengthened sufficiently to restore the confidence of the inhabitants there, as

[6] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 191, note 62, 202, 203; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 118; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 197, 213.

otherwise a general exodus of all the settlers on the lower Mississippi and in the adjacent parts of West Florida was to be expected. Although General Prevost found it impracticable to comply with Governor Chester's demand for troops, Governor Tonyn of East Florida wrote (Mar. 31, 1778) that he had dispatched three vessels "to scour the inland passage and frustrate the designs of the Rebels." Later, word reached St. Augustine that two of these, namely, the "Rebecca" and the "Hinchenbrook," had fallen a prey to the invaders. Tonyn also ordered Lieut.-Col. Thomas Brown and his regiment of East Florida Rangers to penetrate the province of Georgia as a corps of observation. It may be added that Brown did not return until he had destroyed Fort Barrington, some time in the latter part of March.[7]

Meanwhile, the people in the Natchez country had been warned by Colonel Hutchens, who had been carried off a prisoner by Willing's men but had since escaped, that the Americans contemplated a second attack on the river settlements. Accordingly the settlers immediately formed an armed association of some three hundred members and sustained an attack near the White Cliffs, in which a number of the Natchez men were wounded and eight of the enemy were killed. It was just after this experience that those inhabitants of the district who were capable of bearing arms volunteered for garrison duty, repaired Fort Panmure, sent a detachment of their number to Manchac, which was being plundered by some of Willing's men, and garrisoned the old fort there with a party of associated settlers. Having decided that they were no longer bound by their oath of neutrality, they also applied, as seen from Governor Chester's letter to Prevost, which we have given above in substance, for

[7] Thwaites and Kellogg, *op. cit.*, 191, note 62; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 213, 221, 236, 239, 260; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Legacy of the American Revolution to the British West Indies and Bahamas," Ohio State University, *Bulletin*, XVII, No. 27, 6.

reënforcements. In response to this application Chester sent them a detachment of seventy-five soldiers from his garrison to take post at Manchac, and a small body of loyal Carolina refugees under the command of Capt. Michael Jackson to garrison Fort Panmure. Jackson soon made himself unendurable by his oppressive treatment of the volunteers and inhabitants generally, was placed under arrest by Colonel Hutchens, and Capt. Thaddeus Lyman was put in charge by the associated loyalists at Natchez. Jackson, however, had the support of about thirty deserters and others, and kept the garrison in a distracted condition for several days, being able by his treacherous dealings to reinstate himself in command twice during this period. Then, Lieut.-Col. Alexander Dickson, the commandant at Manchac, dispatched Captain Foster to assume control at Natchez, and Jackson and his followers secretly decamped, carrying with them all the portable property of the fort they could lay their hands on. Those remaining behind who had acted with Jackson were sent under guard to Pensacola, where several were ordered shot.[8] Willing and the rest of his party, meantime, had sailed from Manchac to the Tensaw settlements above Mobile, and had tried to enlist the people there in their cause. In 1779 Captain Willing sent his troops north under the command of Lieut. Robert George, who placed them under the orders of Gen. George Rogers Clark. But Willing himself proceeded to Mobile, where he was captured and placed in confinement in the stone keep of Fort Charlotte. He narrowly escaped being hanged in the plaza in front of that fortress, but was shipped to New York at the close of the year.[9]

If Willing's adventures accomplished nothing for

[8] Anthony Haswell (ed.), *Memoirs and Adventures of Captain Matthew Phelps*; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 121-123; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 348, 349; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 260.

[9] Thwaites and Kellogg, *op. cit.*, 192, note 62; Meek, *op. cit.*, 90.

the Americans, they at any rate moved the new commander in chief of the British forces, Sir Henry Clinton, to send 1,000 troops under Brig.-Gen. John Campbell to Pensacola, at the same time that he dispatched 3,000 under Lieut.-Col. Archibald Campbell to take possession of Savannah. Clinton's instructions to the former officer made it clear that he was to assume command of the king's soldiers in West Florida, that a new fort, already ordered to be erected at Manchac, was to be garrisoned with 300 men, and that two galleys were to be provided for the protection of inland navigation and the prevention of subsequent invasions. The troops which arrived at Pensacola at the close of December, 1778, included two provincial corps, namely, the Pennsylvania Loyalists under the command of Lieut.-Col. William Allen, and the Maryland Loyalists under that of Lieut.-Col. James Chalmers. The strength of these regiments at the end of the following February was 183 and 331 men, respectively. Lieut. Hugh Mackay Gordon of the Sixteenth Regiment of Foot, who mustered them, wrote in March that the Maryland Loyalists could not be mustered until February 22, owing to the number sick with the smallpox, which, he said, carried off a great many and induced General Campbell to disperse one company. The writer described Pensacola as "the worst place in the world," where nothing was to be had but lean pork and beef, except poultry which was extravagantly dear, and added that the only thing in which the place abounded was a beautiful white sand that circulated freely.[10] General Campbell found conditions there so much to his distaste that after a residence of two and one-third months he asked to be relieved, asserting that he was unequal to the fatigue and trouble afflicting him.[11]

[10] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 314, 323, 339; William O. Raymond (ed.), *Winslow Papers, A. D. 1776-1826*, 39; William O. Raymond's Ms. notes of Col. Edward Winslow's Muster Rolls.

[11] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 396.

About a month later the General threw some light upon the situation among the loyalists on the Mississippi by reporting that Captain Hutchens' and Captain Syman's (Lyman's) independent companies, having officers and non-commissioned officers, with few or no men under their command, were to be reduced, and that Captain (Francis) Miller's company, which was still on foot, was to be treated as military or as bateau men. General Campbell also referred to the alarming situation of the garrison at Manchac, which had recently suffered from inundation, was experiencing difficulties in obtaining provisions, was suffering losses by desertion, and was finding that material for the construction of the new fort could not be secured in less than twelve months.[12]

In the meantime Col. John Stuart had died, Feb. 21, 1779, at Pensacola, and at the end of April, Clinton had appointed Capt. Alexander Cameron as superintendent of Indian affairs. Cameron was absent on official business in the Cherokee country at the time, and remained so all summer, with the result that the Indian Department fell into a state of confusion. Early in May Campbell reported to the commander in chief that the Sixteenth Regiment was worn out in the service, and requested another in its place, together with a force of carpenters to make possible the erection of the fort at Manchac. He also discovered that the governor of Louisiana was trying to win the Choctaw to the cause of Spain. At length, on June 15, 1779, the Spanish monarchy declared war against England. Under these circumstances it is not difficult to understand why Spanish officers paid frequent visits to the Natchez District during the same summer. The report that Col. George Rogers Clark had been victorious at Vincennes in the previous February led Campbell to reënforce Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson at Manchac with the Grenadier Company of the Waldeck

[12] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 397, 411, 443, 446, 470.

Regiment, and to deem it prudent to forward the remainder of this corps to the Mississippi as rapidly as transports could be procured.

On August 20, the independence of the American states was proclaimed at New Orleans "by beat of drum," and nine days later two British transports returning from the Amite River, where they had just landed a detachment of the Waldeck troops, were seized at Galveston by the Spaniards, while Galvez was seen marching with considerable force towards Manchac. The strength of the British at this post and at Natchez was at the time (September 14) about 457 men, not including the officers. General Campbell was already at Red Cliffs, at the entrance of Pensacola Harbor, as were also the Pennsylvania Loyalists. The number of vessels in the harbor was insufficient to carry more than 250 men, although Campbell expected to obtain others from Mobile. He had only one armed vessel at hand, a second being on Lake Pontchartrain. The rest of his force was presumably standing on the defensive at Pensacola and Mobile. Thus situated, General Campbell had good reason for writing to Clinton representing his inability to execute Lord George Germain's orders to attack New Orleans. It is, however, stated in some private correspondence of the time that an expedition for this purpose was ready to embark when the news came that Don Galvez had obliged the British troops on the Mississippi to capitulate.[13]

According to local historians Galvez stormed Fort Bute at Manchac on Sept. 7, 1779, and then advanced up the river with 1,500 men to Baton Rouge, whither Colonel Dickson had retreated to make his stand in a more tenable position behind a redoubt and lines lately thrown up at Watt and Flower's plantation. Dickson's force at this point is said to have comprised 400 regulars and 150

[13] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 403, 423, 424, 427, 431, 448, 470, 471, 477; *ibid.*, II, 28, 30, 31, 33, 63.

militia of the country. The commandant's resistance was spirited, though brief, and he capitulated on September 21, surrendering the British posts on the lower Mississippi, the Amite, and Thompson's Creek, and the entire Natchez District. Leaving Colonel Grandpre in command at Natchez, Galvez now returned to New Orleans, and made preparations to reduce Mobile. After breasting a hurricane, he summoned Elias Durnford, the commandant of Fort Charlotte, to surrender on Mar. 1, 1780. Durnford was able to hold out until the thirteenth, when he also capitulated, agreeing to hand over to Spain the whole region from the Perdido to the Pearl.[14]

The next task of Galvez was to take Pensacola. To this end he brought reënforcements and heavy artillery from Havana, and early in April sent a proposal to Campbell for the neutrality of the Indians, a large body of whom had been assembled in the provincial capital. However, the savages lacked the patience to await the Spanish attack and departed day by day, while those who lingered fixed on April 19 or 20 as the date of their departure. At the end of November, 1779, Campbell had disbanded the two companies of loyal refugees raised by Colonel Stuart two years before, but in the following year found it expedient to form a new troop, called the West Florida Royal Foresters, and to erect a redoubt at Red Cliffs for the defense of Pensacola harbor. The troop of Foresters numbered only forty-three on April 1, 1781, while the united corps of Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists contained but 310, rank and file, on February 1 of the same year. Campbell's other forces comprised the following regiments: The Royal American, the Third Waldeck, the Sixteenth, the third battalion of the Sixtieth, and a company of Royal Artillery. In the opening days of January, 1781, the Spanish troopships assembled in Mobile Bay, and at daylight on the seventh

[14] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 72, 77, 102; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 125.

a large detachment from Pensacola, consisting of the third battalion of the Sixtieth Regiment, the Waldeck soldiers, the Royal Foresters, and the Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists, attacked the enemy's post at Mobile village, only to be repulsed. Some British ships which were ordered to coöperate with the land forces in this assault were prevented from doing so by the weather and the ebb tide.[15]

Galvez now marched his land forces (estimated at 4,000 French and Spanish) to Pensacola, and his fleet entered the harbor there about March 12. From this date until May 9 the bombardment of the place continued with little intermission. During the siege, according to the journal of one of the defenders of Fort George, the loyalist volunteers, the Indians, and the Pennsylvania and Maryland regiments distinguished themselves by their courageous attacks on the enemy. On the night of May 8, a shell falling upon the magazine exploded it and carried away the principal part of the advanced works, besides killing more than 100 men in the fort. This disaster gave the Spanish the opportunity to approach from the landward side and fire at close range, thus considerably increasing the death roll of the British. The situation of those in the beleaguered town had now become so desperate that General Campbell and Governor Chester signed articles of surrender on May 9, yielding the whole province to the arms of Spain. More than a year later Campbell proudly asserted his belief that history would exonerate him for his defeat. This sentiment he expressed in a letter of June 17, 1782, to Galvez, in which he gloried in the recollection, as he put it, of the resistance which his "handfull of gallant and intrepid officers and men" had offered to the "multitude of foes (in the combined forces of France and Spain)" — the narration

[15] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, I, 72, 77, 102; W. O. Raymond's Ms. Notes of Col. Edward Winslow's Muster Rolls; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, II, 122, 146, 159, 161, 201, 233, 234, 246.

of which he declared himself quite ready to leave "to the chaste pen of a candid historian." [16]

The settlers in the Natchez District had been astonished by Galvez's easy victory at Baton Rouge, but were fully convinced that he would be overwhelmed at Pensacola. They therefore sent a courier to Campbell, evidently during the Spanish bombardment of the provincial capital, proposing to make a diversion in his favor by rising and recapturing Fort Panmure. The General returned a favorable answer, together with commissions for their officers, in order, as he explained, to prevent the emigration of the people of Mobile and Natchez from West Florida. As matters turned out, he could scarcely have hit on a surer way of promoting their exodus. The officers who were involved in this plot were Col. Anthony Hutchens, Capts. Thaddeus Lyman, Jacob Blomart, and Jacob Winfrey, Philip and John Alston, Thompson Lyman, and Christian Bingaman. At the head of a large number of loyalists, these men took their position on an eminence north of Natchez, April 22, 1781, and were joined there by fifty warriors of the Choctaw nation, who had come in with the courier on his way back from Pensacola. Under the cover of night the insurgents planted their artillery so as to bear on the fort, and the next day an exchange of artillery fire occurred. On the twenty-ninth the Spanish commandant sent a flag of truce to Colonel Hutchens, promising clemency to the armed settlers if they would surrender their leaders and disperse. The royalists promised to return an answer within twenty-four hours, but instead sent a forged letter, purporting to contain the intelligence that Fort Panmure had been mined, that the people of the country were joining the insurgents in large numbers, and that the commandant could only save his garrison by surrender.

[16] Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 126; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, II, 279, 281, 286, III, 22.

The ruse was successful, the fort capitulated, and the Spaniards were permitted to withdraw to Baton Rouge under escort. On the way thither the escorting party under Captain Winfrey descried a body of the enemy, accompanied by some Indians, coming up the river, and fled in consternation, although in a skirmish that followed fourteen were killed and some captured. The remainder, who with friends joining them numbered about two hundred, prepared to make a stand against the Spaniards at White Cliffs, but soon received word that General Campbell had been defeated and that West Florida had become a Spanish province.[17]

Thus nothing remained for the insurgents except to seek safety in flight. Accordingly they gathered their families, horses, and movable effects together and fled to the cane swamps. Thence more than a hundred individuals, besides slaves, set out on horseback, with their meager belongings and supplies packed on other horses, for the British settlements on the Savannah. In the course of their wanderings, which lasted five months, they traveled over the prairies in the present state of Mississippi, suffering the pangs of thirst in a season that was unusually dry; they were deprived of their packhorses and plundered of their effects by hunting parties of Indians; they made a detour near the Tennessee River and penetrated the mountains of Blount County, Alabama, and in July, 1781, worn and starving, they were fortunate enough to find temporary shelter and refreshment in the Creek town at Hickory Ground in the southern part of the present Wetumpka, on the east bank of the Coosa River. Thus rested and recuperated, the party proceeded on its journey, crossing the Tallapoosa, Chattahoochee, and Flint. Then the fugitives divided into two groups, one of which turned in the direction of

[17] Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 126-130; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 351-360; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, II, 246, 300.

East Florida and succeeded in reaching Savannah in safety. The other group fell into the hands of the Whigs but, being released, appears to have arrived at the same destination. We are informed that General Lyman and his three sons were among these refugees, and that when the British evacuated Georgia in July, 1782, one of the sons went to New York, another to Nova Scotia, and the third to the island of New Providence in the Bahamas. Two others, Dr. Dwight and his wife, returned to Northampton, Massachusetts, the Doctor being afterwards lost on a voyage to Nova Scotia.[18]

Colonel Hutchens and twenty other men lingered in concealment until they learned that a party of Choctaw was in pursuit of them. Then they started on horseback to overtake the larger party, whose wanderings and sufferings have been briefly described above. On the second night of their flight they were overtaken by the Indians and all were slain but Hutchens and one companion, who managed to escape to Savannah. Thence Mr. Hutchens went to London, where he remained several years, after which he was permitted to return to Natchez through the intercession of the influential loyalist merchant, William Panton at Pensacola, with the Spanish authorities. Then John Alston with another small party of loyalists, which seems to have included Captains Blomart and Winfrey, Parker Carradine, George Rapalje, John Smith, and William Eason, made his way to the Creek nation, where he and his companions were arrested by the Indians. After being carried to Mobile, they were forwarded to New Orleans and condemned to death on the charge of rebellion, but were pardoned by the governor.[19]

[18] Haswell, *op. cit.*, app., 2-17; John W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, 462, 463; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 360; Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New York and New England*, I, 306-316.

[19] Pickett, *op. cit.*, 360; Claiborne, *op. cit.*, I, 131, 133.

Still a fourth party of those active in the revolt, consisting of Capt. Thaddeus Lyman, Philip Alston, Christian Bingaman, John Ogg, Caleb Hansborough, John Watkins, William Case, John Turner, Thomas James, Philip Mulkey, Ebenezer Cossett, Thompson Lyman, and Nathaniel Johnson, escaped to the Cumberland settlements in Tennessee. Like the band which had been transported to New Orleans, the members of this party were pardoned and permitted to return to their homes in the Natchez District. Although the Spanish government had confiscated the property of the loyalists, it now cancelled these confiscations in numerous instances, while in other cases it nullified purchases of lands from those insurgents who had sold out before effecting their escape. The properties thus recovered were restored in whole or in part to the original owners, or to their wives and children.[20]

Whether any of the refugees from West Florida became dwellers among the Indians in the present states of Alabama and Mississippi is not known, although local historians assert that many loyalists did so. James G. Gunn, a native of Virginia, was one of those who found an asylum among the Chickasaw, settling first near Toshish in what was later known as Pontotoc County and afterwards in Lee County, Mississippi. Mr. Gunn grew wealthy and owned many negro slaves. It is said that he celebrated the birthday of George III throughout his life, and forbade the commemoration of the Fourth of July on his plantations. His name is perpetuated in that of "Guntown" in Lee County. Among the Tories who sought shelter in the Chickasaw country now constituting Montgomery County, Alabama, were James Russell, Thomas Love, and Messrs. Allen and Pickens. Love married an Indian woman and lived near the site of Mount Meigs. Four of his sons became chiefs among

[20] Claiborne, *op. cit.*, 133-135.

the Chickasaw. Allen acquired a farm near Tocopola. Little is known of Pickens except that he came from South Carolina, where his family had espoused the cause of American independence.[21]

At least one important loyalist remained in West Florida after the Spanish conquest. This was the Scotchman, William Panton, whose large estates in Georgia and South Carolina had been confiscated on account of his adherence to the British Crown, and who established himself on St. Marys River early in the Revolution. Later he removed to Pensacola, where he was carrying on an extensive trade when Galvez took that place in 1781. He soon entered into an agreement with the Spanish authorities which proved of mutual benefit, affording Panton the opportunity of uninterrupted commerce, while the new government of West Florida secured the benefit of his influence over the Indian tribes south of the Tennessee River. Moreover, Panton introduced Col. Alexander McGillivray, the representative of the Creek and Seminole nations, to the Spanish governor of Pensacola, with the result that an arrangement was entered into by which these tribes were to become allies of Spain, make peace with the Chickasaw and Cherokee, surrender all intruders who came to stir up rebellion against the Spanish government, deliver up any white subjects of the United States taking shelter among them, besides fugitive slaves from Louisiana and Florida, and abandon the practice of taking scalps in war. In return for these concessions the Creeks and Seminole were to receive the rights of trade at the most advantageous places. That Panton sacrificed nothing by his services to the new government appears from the fact that in 1789 the firm of Panton, Leslie & Company was in possession of large trading establishments at St. Johns, St. Marks, St. Au-

[21] Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, VIII, 543, 545, 560, 586; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 421, 422.

gustine, Mobile, Pensacola, and at Chickasaw Bluff on the Mississippi. The most important of these was at Pensacola, and comprised a store usually containing a stock worth $50,000, together with warehouses where furs and skins were assorted and packed for the foreign markets, being shipped in schooners belonging to the firm, which constituted a fleet of fifteen vessels.[22]

Of those who were taken prisoners at Pensacola, some families were detained there on account of sickness. When they were able to depart they were shipped to New York by way of Havanna before the end of December, 1781. Brig.-Gen. John Campbell and Capt. Adam Chrystie, the latter being the commanding officer of the Royal Foresters, may have gone with this contingent. At any rate the latter is known to have been at Newton, Long Island, early in April, 1782, and the former in New York City by the middle of the following month. There were fourteen Royal Foresters, sixty-eight Pennsylvania Loyalists, and 137 Maryland Loyalists still at Pensacola on April 24 of the same year. Doubtless they were sent north soon after, some of them being placed in the hospital on their arrival at New York. Indeed, hospital accounts dated June 24, 1782, are still extant for part of the Loyal American Regiment, as well as for part of the Maryland and Pennsylvania corps.[23]

On Sept. 12, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton ordered eleven corps of loyalist troops and detachments of three others transported from New York City to the St. John River in what is now the province of New Brunswick. Among these corps were the Loyal American Regiment and the Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists. Most of the families of the Maryland corps sailed in the ship "Martha"

[22] Claiborne, *op. cit.*, 132, note; *American State Papers* (Boston, Wait ed.), X, 223-227; Pickett, *op. cit.*, II, 60, 61.

[23] *Report on Amer. Mss.*, II, 372, 439, 489, 514, 535, 540; W. O. Raymond's Ms. notes of Col. Edward Winslow's Muster Rolls; Siebert, *op. cit.*, 13.

with the fall fleet, but their vessel was wrecked late in the same month, off the Tusket River, and over 100 lives were lost. "It is recorded," says Paul Leicester Ford, "that the troop stood drawn up in company order, while the women and children were ordered into the boats, and the few survivors among the men were chiefly saved by clinging to the wreckage." In an undated list of persons who embarked for Nova Scotia, probably aboard the fated transport, we find the names of Lieut.-Col. James Chalmers, organizer of the troop, and Lieut.-Col. William Allen of the Pennsylvania Loyalists. Capt. Adam Chrystie of the Royal Foresters was in New York City, November 3, when he signed a petition for a grant of land in Nova Scotia. A census of the disbanded corps and loyalists on the River St. John, bearing the same date, shows 289 Loyal Americans, seventy-three Pennsylvania Loyalists and seventy-two Maryland Loyalists. These numbers included the women and children, as well as the men. Most of these people were already settled on their lands, the location of the Marylanders being on the east side of the river in the parish of St. Mary's, and that of the Pennsylvanians being in Southampton and Northampton parishes on the same side. Part of the Loyal American Regiment also settled on the St. John, being scattered in various communities, while the remainder went to Nova Scotia.[24]

[24] W. O. Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 132, 133, 156, note, 211, note, 243, note, 244, 245; *Orderly Book of the Maryland Loyalist Regiment*, II; *Report on Amer. Mss.*, IV, 105, 380, 409, 420, 440, 443, 479; New Brunswick Historical Society, *Collections*, No. 5, 206, 207.

HORACE HOLLEY, LL.D.: THIRD PRESIDENT OF OLD TRANSYLVANIA [1]

By John Wilson Townsend

One hundred and thirty-four years ago Horace Holley was born. In a most direct line he was descended from the famous Edmund Halley, the English astronomer, whose comet, like many another good thing, went wrong several years ago. The American founder of his family, John Holley, was one of the big men of seventeenth-century Connecticut; and his father, Luther Holley, was a business man of ability, around whose memory lingers the excellent tradition that he, like Lord Macaulay, could repeat the whole of "Paradise Lost." Horace Holley's mother was Sarah Dakin, one of the Dresden-china type of women, reminding one of a delicate piece of porcelain. And these two, Luther and Sarah (Dakin) Holley, were the parents not only of him whom we remember today, but of Myron Holley, the famous New England reformer, who occupies a larger place in American history than does his younger brother.

The little town of Salisbury, Connecticut, is the place, and Feb. 13, 1781, is the date of Horace Holley's birth. In school before he was four years old, and finishing it when he was ten, Horace spent the next three or four years in study at home and in business with his father. His mind becoming more and more engrossed in intellectual pursuits, it was finally decided to give him a college education. So, in 1797, at the age of sixteen years, he

[1] This paper is based largely on Charles Caldwell's *Discourse on the Genius and Character of the Rev. Horace Holley, LL.D., late President of Transylvania University* (Boston, 1828).

entered the preparatory department of Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. Here he spent two years, at the end of which time he went to New Haven and matriculated as a freshman at Yale. Yale was then flourishing under the auspices of its great president, Timothy Dwight, and the brilliant youngster and the old poet-president became boon companions, a friendship that was only terminated with Dwight's death. Holley was an excellent student, besides being one of the best speakers in the college, and the social "star" of the town. In 1803, as the class orator, the degree of bachelor of arts was conferred on him.

The great religious revival that swept over New Haven in 1803 found many converts in the men of Yale; and among them, as you have anticipated, was Horace Holley. This awakening left its impress upon him, and though he went to New York City soon after graduation to study law in the office of Riggs & Radcliff, he could not get away from his conversion, if we may so term it. For several months he devoted himself assiduously to the law, but it soon became so distasteful to him that he gave it up and returned to New Haven to study theology under President Dwight. Though bred a strict Calvinist, Holley soon became a Unitarian, as exemplified in the teachings of William Ellery Channing and the other New England preachers of that faith. He pursued his studies with great enthusiasm and rapidly finished his course.

On Jan. 1, 1805, Horace Holley married Mary Austin, of New Haven, who was afterward to become his best biographer, and the author of the well-known *History of Texas*. From their union two children were born, the elder of whom died some fourteen years ago.

On September 13 of this same year of 1805 Holley was ordained at Greenfield Hill, Connecticut — the lovely little town that Dwight celebrated in his pastoral poem of that name, a poem that was read more a century ago

than it is today — by the Western Consociation of Fairfield County, Connecticut; and the Society "Voted to give Mr. Holley $560 per year for his services in the ministry, so long as said society and Mr. Holley could agree." For three years they did agree, at the end of which time the pastor, looking for fairer financial fields, let his eyes behold Marblehead, Massachusetts, but after a few weeks he pronounced it not good, and decided to look farther. Middletown, Connecticut, and Albany, New York, made him offers, which he declined, and descended upon Boston. There he preached in the Old South Church to crowded congregations for a time. After several trial sermons, which were declared excellent, the great Hollis Street Unitarian Church invited him to become its pastor, and this he did.

Installed on Mar. 8, 1809, Holley spent the next nine years of his life, the most pleasant years he was to spend in the world, as pastor of that church. There was a thorough and most cordial understanding and sympathy between minister and people, and we may well believe that he was happy.

It was while at Hollis Street that to all intents and purposes Holley admitted to a company of clergymen his disbelief in the divinity of Christ to the extent "that the being," as he phrased it, "called Jesus Christ, who lived, and walked about, and ate, and drank, and died, on this earth, was verily the eternal God, the great First Cause of all things." And then to illustrate what a nice mind he had, he said in a sermon, "What is Christian faith? The intelligent and honest acknowledgment that Jesus is the Christ. What is the term of Christian communion in the article of faith? The same acknowledgment that Jesus is the Christ." This distinction is one of the paradoxes of Unitarianism, you may say, and you may be right! Of course, in this he denied the doctrine of the Trinity; and he clave unto all the other principles

of his church. Truth was what he most desired, and if he saw it in Unitarianism, why, that was his affair, not ours. Surely, though, we can all come in on his definition of religion as the love of God and man, as it is the same definition that the Saviour gave centuries ago.

Besides his pastoral duties Holley was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, of the Boston School Committee, and of many other literary and benevolent institutions. To all of them he gave himself unstintingly.

And then, at the acme of his power as one of the great pulpit orators of the whole country, when his influence for good was greatest, like a bolt from the blue he heard the call of the wild, the great West began its pounding in his pulses, a pounding that never ceased until he went to the undiscovered country.

In 1815 Dr. Holley — for he was now wearing the degree of Doctor of Laws — was elected to the presidency of Transylvania University, but he was then wise enough to ignore the siren's voice. The trustees camped on his trail, however, and, in November, 1817, he was again unanimously invited to accept the office. Their perseverance, perhaps as much as anything else, kindled his curiosity, and so, in March of the following year, he left Boston for Lexington, the capital of Blue Grass Kentucky. He stopped in Washington, where he met many members of Congress and delighted them with his power as a preacher. Journeying through Virginia he visited in Richmond, and then tarried awhile with Jefferson at charming "Monticello."

Arriving in Lexington he was greeted with real acclaim as the one man who could bring sanity and wisdom, which spelled success, into the management of the University. Carefully considering the institution, the town, and the country, Holley sent his acceptance to the board on April 7; and a short time thereafter they met and unanimously elected him president of Transylvania.

While in Lexington Dr. Holley wrote some very delightful letters home, from one of which we desire to quote:

LEXINGTON, May 27th, 1818.

The town and vicinity are very handsome. The streets are broad, straight, paved, clean, and have rows of trees on each side. The houses are of brick almost universally, many of them in the midst of fields, and have a very rural and charming appearance. The taste is for low houses, generally two, sometimes even but one story high, like English cottages.

In the afternoon I walked about town with Mr. [Henry] Clay, and called at a few charming houses. I visited also the Athenaeum, an institution not yet furnished with many books, but well supplied with newspapers, and the best periodicals. I find everything of this sort, which is valuable, from Boston and the other Atlantic cities.

This morning I breakfasted at Mr. Clay's, who lives a mile and a half from town. He arrived here only three days before me. Ashland is a very pleasant place, handsomer than I anticipated. The grounds are beautiful, the lawns and walks extensive, the shrubbery luxuriant, and the garden well supplied. The native forest of ash in the rear adds a charming effect to the whole. After breakfast Mr. Clay rode with me and we went with the trustees, by appointment, to the college to visit the professors and students. They were all collected in the largest hall to receive us. I made a short address, which was received in a kind manner. I was then conducted to the library, the apparatus, and the recitation rooms. The library is small, and the apparatus smaller. There is no regular division of students into classes as in other colleges, and but few laws. Everything is to be done and so much the better, as nothing is to be reformed. Almost the whole is proposed to be left to me to arrange. I am now making all necessary inquiries, and a meeting of the trustees is to be called next week.

After this visit, I went with a party of ladies and gentlemen nine miles into the country to the seat of Colonel [David] Mead (1744-1838) (situated just off the Harrodsburg pike), where we dined and passed the day. This gentleman, who is near seventy, is a Virginian of the old school. He has been a good deal

in England in his youth, and brought home with him English notions of a country seat, though he is a great republican in politics. He and his wife dress in the costume of the olden time. He has the square coat and green cuffs, the vest of the court, short breeches, and white stockings, at all times. Mrs. Mead has the long waist, the white apron, the stays, the ruffles about the elbows, and the cap of half a century ago. She is very mild and ladylike, and though between sixty and seventy, plays upon the piano-forte with the facility and cheerfulness of a young lady. Her husband resembles Colonel Pickering in the face and the shape of the head. He is entirely a man of leisure, never having followed any business, and never using his fortune but in adorning his place and entertaining his friends and strangers. No word is ever sent to him that company is coming. To do so offends him. But a dinner — he dines at the hour of four — is always ready for visitors; and the servants are always in waiting.

Twenty of us went out today without warning, and were entertained luxuriously on the viands of the country. Our drink consisted of beer, toddy and water. Wine, being imported and expensive, he never gives; nor does he allow cigars to be smoked in his presence. His house consists of a cluster of rustic cottages, in front of which spreads a beautiful, sloping lawn as smooth as velvet. From this diverge, in various directions, and forming vistas terminated by picturesque objects, groves and walks extending over some acres. Seats, Chinese temples, verdant banks and alcoves are interspersed at convenient distances. The lake, over which presides a Grecian temple, that you may imagine to be the residence of the water nymphs, has in it a small island, which communicates with the shore by a white bridge of one arch. The whole is surrounded by a low rustic fence of stone, surmounted and almost hidden by honeysuckle and roses, now in full flower, and which we gathered in abundance to adorn the ladies. Everything is laid out for walking and pleasure. His farm he rents, and does nothing for profit. The whole is in rustic taste. You enter from the road through a gate between rude and massive columns, a field without pretension, wind a considerable distance through a noble park to an inner gate, the capitals to whose pillars are unique being formed of the roots of trees, carved by nature. The rich

scene of cultivation, of verdure and flower-capped hedges, bursts upon you. There is no establishment like this in our country. Instead of a description, I might have given you its name, "Chaumiere du Prairies."

Wouldn't you like to know what part, if any, this great lord of the land played in the little tragedy we are now about to stage, which may be entitled "The Power of Darkness"?

Immediately after his election Holley informed the Hollis Street Church of his determination, and he traveled home at once to make preparations for the removal of his family. He preached a great valedictory sermon to his congregation, gathered his family around him, together with two graduates of Harvard, and in September was off again for Kentucky. He arrived in Lexington in the late autumn, and his presence was welcomed by the illumination of the college building, and many other manifestations of great joy. On Dec. 19, 1818, Dr. Holley was inaugurated as third president of Transylvania University, and he at once entered upon the arduous task of converting a grammar school into a university. He had everything to plan, but he set himself to the work like the big man he was. His heart and soul he dedicated on Transylvania's ever-burning altar.

In order to get the proper perspective, we must go back a bit. Transylvania University is the result of the consolidation of two preparatory schools: Transylvania Seminary of Lexington, founded in 1785, and Kentucky Academy of Pisgah, founded in 1795. The union of these two took place in 1798, and the next year the Rev. James Moore, the famous flute-playing parson, whom James Lane Allen has so exquisitely interwoven into his Kentucky tales and romances, became the first president of the infant University.

President Moore, though a most charming gentleman, was not a great college president. So, after five

years, he was succeeded by Dr. James Blythe, a man more interested in the chemistry of matter than in the matter of men. President Blythe continued as head of the University in embryo for fourteen years, during which time he succeeded most admirably in keeping it in all sorts of religious tangles and warm controversies of various kinds. The curriculum was a pathetic joke, and during the first twenty years of its existence, that is, throughout the reigns of the parson and the physician, the little college graduated exactly twenty-two men.

The Kentucky Presbyterians seemed to think that the University belonged to them, and with their abominable sectarianism they had torn the institution well-nigh asunder. Though the state legislature ousted their board and elected a new board composed of several of the distinguished men of the Commonwealth, who were anxious to work hand in hand with Holley, they yet endeavored to hold on to the University; the Lexington Presbyterians were the last to welcome the new president; and an Ohio Presbyterian weekly was always his harshest critic. Centre College of Danville is a most magnificent memorial to the Holley crusade. This is history, not prejudice.

President Holley having partly finished the work of regeneration and overhauling, within three years students from all over the Mississippi Valley were crowding the halls of the institution; the intellectual life of the whole western people was quickened; European gazetteers began to refer to Lexington as the seat of Transylvania University, "The Athens of the West" — a sobriquet that Horace Holley had more to do with winning for that city than even the mighty Henry Clay. The future was indeed bright; state and church in the administration of Transylvania seemed to be at last separated; the new president was, as we put it today, "making good." His faculty was composed of famous men, at the head of whom stood Constantine Samuel Rafinesque,

the scientist and historian, "the most learned man in America," to revive the characterization of his contemporaries.

It was not long, however, and more's the pity, before President Holley had raised up a coterie of enemies determined to destroy him. These enemies, in many instances the recipients of hospitality in his home and kindnesses from his hand, began to circulate all sorts of silly stories about the man, the preacher, the professor, and the president. He had a small bust of a Grecian goddess in the nude in his home, and because it "was not covered to the very ears in an 'inky cloak,' it was 'worse poison to men's souls' than a pagan idol, or a 'Druid's oak.'" This was one of the proofs that Dr. Holley was no Christian! Of course, his maligners were ignorant of the views of the Unitarian, and so again, of course, Holley was an infidel, a most dangerous instructor of youth. The government of the University was represented to be lax, the students an idle, dissipated set of ne'er-do-wells; the University was a "rich man's institution." And if it were, it could not well be otherwise with practically no endowment or state aid! And so, with damning falsehood, denunciation, malice, all "modes of moral assassination" known to men, were used to dethrone the character of Transylvania's great president.

Holley's mistake in dealing with his enemies was this: Like the Standard Oil Company, he maintained a "dignified silence," seldom replying to pamphlet, newspaper, or magazine criticisms, or public denunciation, hoping always, and always in vain, to "kill false accusations with silence." His enemies, like the very dogs of war, were united; he stood alone, with only an occasional friend to speak a word for him in printer's ink. His wife thought that he should have established "an academical paper," which, wisely conducted, would most probably have saved him and the University he loved so

well. Dr. Holley did not seem to realize with Joseph Addison that "envy is a tax which a man owes to his contemporaries for the privilege of being distinguished"; and had he done so, the end of this story would be more remote.

A tactless political speech, delivered by one of the students, and without the president's knowledge; the denunciation of an unspeakable Desha, whom the people of this state were at one time so unfortunate as to elect governor of Kentucky; and the accumulated criticisms of half a dozen years, convinced Holley that he was not appreciated and he decided to resign. Nine of the best years of his life were given to Transylvania, his "foster child." In January, 1826, he had asked the Board of Trustees to accept his resignation, but they declined to do so. Now, however, in the early spring of 1827, he insisted that his resignation take immediate effect; and it was done.

In making his final report to the trustees, President Holley pointed out some interesting facts. During the session just closing 286 students were matriculated in the University; attention was called to the excellent condition of the grounds and buildings — "in the whole establishment there is not a pane of glass out"; the condition of the libraries, apparatus, and cabinet, was noted; the course of study was wisely commented upon; the number of degrees conferred from the beginning of his incumbency (1818) to the present time (1827) — 660, of which forty were honorary, as against twenty-two that were granted from 1802 to 1818; some of the wants of the University; the revival of the law school; chairs of French and Spanish; a gymnasium; a provision to increase the libraries; an art gallery.

This resignation and report was dated "Lexington, March 24, 1827," and if all other evidence were lacking this alone would prove Holley's great worth and success

as a college president, and, also, that he was thinking fifty years or more in advance of his time; but because he saw no harm in a horse race, a toddy, a dance, a hearty laugh, an excellent theatrical performance; because, in sooth, he was "a good fellow," believing that it was quite possible for one to keep Christ in one's heart without wearing crepe on one's countenance, his power as a pulpit orator, his wonderful work for Transylvania, all, all his series of signal successes were forgotten, and he was utterly damned!

Speaking for the Board of Trustees, old John Bradford, Kentucky's pioneer journalist, penned these prophetic sentences:

> Within the walls of Transylvania the fond recollections of her polite, kind, generous, learned, accomplished, and much loved President will never perish. The patronage of the Commonwealth may be withdrawn, the institution may decline, the walls themselves may be crumbled; but so long as the name remains there will be associated with it the most affectionate remembrances that flow from mutual attachments, or have a habitation in the hearts of those who are susceptible of the emotions of gratitude. To whatever clime your destiny may direct you, you will be pursued by the esteem and confidence of those who have been so long and so intimately associated with you, and whom we on this occasion represent. Farewell!

A valedictory address must, of course, be delivered, and in this two-hour discourse he touched upon everything from his report to the trustees, to females, happiness, immortality, politics, and his return. He seems to have held, like many another man, that he "could come back."

Leaving Lexington on Mar. 27, 1827, he was accompanied by his friends and admirers for several miles out of town, the last expression of their love and esteem.

Holley had a dream for the sons of the southern planters, and it was this: He desired to take a goodly company of them to Europe, living most of the time in

Paris, and then to educate them with books and travel on the continent and in England. He went to New Orleans, where he hoped to gather his boys together, and to sail from that port. On arriving in New Orleans, however, he found himself welcomed almost as cordially as he had been in Lexington some ten years before. He was offered the presidency of the reorganized College of New Orleans, and he at once accepted it, abandoning his idea for the sons of the planters at the same time. The Louisianians exhibited unlimited faith in the late president of Transylvania, practically agreeing to build him a university, and then if he would only accept it, ultimately to present it to him. He acceded to their wishes and at once set the wheels of regeneration into motion.

But the summer wore on apace, and it is a deal warmer on Canal Street in New Orleans than it is on Market Street in Lexington. Holley, exhausted with work and overcome with lassitude, finally decided to drop the rein for a while and take a long rest. Passage on the packet "Louisiana" was engaged, and the tedious trip to New York City was begun. For the first few days all went well, and then, "yellow fever aboard!" was the awful cry. Holley was stricken, and on the last day of July, 1827, he died. His body was consigned to the waters of the Gulf of Mexico; but the flight of years seem to serve as guardians of a memory perennially green.

Such is the imperfect tale of the years of Horace Holley, the famous, the much-maligned president of old Transylvania.

THE AFRICAN APPRENTICE BILL

By Stella Herron

That those interested in the political welfare of Louisiana looked not to the territories of the United States but to the countries southward for additional strength was shown not only by newspaper editorials, but also by the proceedings of the session of the Louisiana legislature in 1858. The defeat and arrest of General Walker in Nicaragua had brought disappointment to those whose hopes for one reason or another were centered in Central America. On January 20 Senator Henry St. Paul of New Orleans introduced resolutions in reference to the action of Paulding in Nicaragua. They declared that as the Americans had gone to Nicaragua in good faith, at the instigation of and from the inducements held out by the people and government of Nicaragua, had acquired certain rights, and as they had suffered great and grievous wrongs in not being permitted to enjoy their property in that country, and in being denied the right of living there, that full investigation should be made, and their losses repaired as far as possible. The following was the conclusion:

Resolved, That the course of the Federal Government in authorizing the armed intervention of the United States Navy in the domestic affairs of a foreign nation, is contrary to every principle of international law, and that, in the opinion of this body, the present administration of the United States by the course it has pursued in overstepping its obligations to the civilized world in the enforcement of the neutrality law, has manifested a settled hostility to American progress and Southern enterprise, contrary to the fundamental spirit of the Cincinnati convention, adverse to the hopes which the people of the

South had a right to entertain from the pledges and antecedents of its Executive.

The resolutions passed the first and second readings and were ordered printed.

On the same day Delony of East Feliciana introduced a joint resolution affirming the principle of the Monroe Doctrine and sympathizing with the attempts to regenerate Central America. In regard to the arrest of Walker he said:

The recent arrest by Paulding of Walker and his followers in the territory of the Nicaraguan Republic constitutes a gross and unparalleled outrage on the law of nations and individual liberty, and a disgrace to the name and character of the American people; is a flagrant departure from the spirit and pledges of the Cincinnati resolutions and reveals a manifest intent or tendency to restrain or stifle the legitimate aspirations of the South and crush out what may still remain in Southern hearts of spirit and resolution.

The Committee on Federal Relations to whom the resolutions were referred reported them back with some modifications. On February 26 they were laid on the table subject to call. No more mention was made of them.

Governor Wickliffe's message was received on January 30. In it he took a very decided position on the rights of the South. The President received praise for having in his "recommendations to Congress gone far to do us justice in a matter most concerning our future growth." The abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was earnestly to be desired, for then the Monroe Doctrine could be applied and European despots excluded from interfering in matters exclusively affecting the interests of the people and the government. He maintained that:

It is clearly manifest that the Southern States of this Union must look Southward for that expansion of the slavery area, so necessary for the maintenance of the equilibrium of

the United States Senate and for the future progress of their agricultural prosperity. It is just and right that the Federal Government and the Northern States bow to the immutable decrees of a natural law and not resist the South in the spread of her institution to regions so palpably pointed to by the finger of destiny for her occupation.

The state right's theory was especially emphasized.[1]

In this plan for expansion as outlined by the governor and the resolutions, there was no hint of secession. It was assumed that the North would acquiesce; the application of the Monroe Doctrine would render England powerless and so the South could develop.

There was another phase of the question that received the attention of the Louisiana legislature. The principle of nonintervention by Congress had been secured but in order to reap any benefit from this, it was necessary to increase the supply of slaves. More than one in the South had come to realize the danger of removing slaves from the border states. To continue doing this would be merely playing into the hands of the Abolitionists; for free labor would come in to take the place of the slaves and these states would no longer have a common interest with the slaveholding states. Realizing this, many came to feel that in agreeing to the prohibition of the African slave trade, the South had injured herself.

South Carolina was the first state in which it was suggested that Congress should repeal the law. The growth of public opinion in regard to this question is seen in the discussions of the southern commercial conventions. In the 1855 convention, which met at New Orleans, Dr. McGimsey of Louisiana introduced a resolution recommending the senators and representatives in Congress to introduce a bill to repeal all laws suppressing the slave trade. It was referred to the general com-

[1] Resolution and Message in Louisiana *Senate Journal*, session of 1858.

mittee but no report was made upon it so there was no discussion.[2] In the Savannah convention of 1856 considerable time was devoted to the discussion of the measure. A resolution was introduced which suggested the appointment of a committee to make a thorough investigation of slavery in all its bearings, and also of the propriety of reopening the African slave trade. After full discussion this was rejected.[3] When this same question was brought up in the Knoxville convention in 1857 it met with better success, for the committee was appointed.

The question of reopening the slave trade was introduced in Congress but failed to pass, although "fifty-seven Southern congressmen refused to declare a reopening of the slave trade shocking to the moral sentiment of the enlightened portion of mankind and eight refused to call the reopening unwise and inexpedient."[4]

As this plan had failed, another scheme was evolved by which to gain a labor supply. The movement was first set on foot in Mississippi, when on Nov. 19, 1857, Senator Hughes introduced into the legislature a bill for the charter of the African Immigration Company. The session closed the next day, so no action was taken.

In Louisiana, January 28, Henry St. Paul of New Orleans gave notice of a bill to authorize the governor of the state to contract for the introduction of 2,500 free black laborers from the coast of Africa; and providing for the government and redemption of said free blacks. An account of the impression that this created in the Senate was given by the Baton Rouge correspondent of the *Daily Delta*:

> The Hotspur of the Senate, Henry St. Paul of New Orleans, today went through the preliminary form of initiating the boldest stroke of State policy known in the annals of South-

[2] *De Bow's Review*, XVIII, 628.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXII, 92.

[4] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870.*

ern legislation for half a century. When the notice was read by the Secretary, such of the Senators as were not prepared for anything so utterly astounding gazed around them as though they were under the impression that a mine had exploded. It was a theme of much conversation and varied comments in the House.[5]

The bill which was acted upon read as follows:

Section I. Be it *Resolved*, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana in General Assembly convened, That James H. Brigham and his associates be and they are hereby authorized to import into the State of Louisiana for agricultural and laboring purposes, twenty-five hundred free Africans;

Provided they shall be indentured as apprentices to labor for a term of years which the parties may agree upon between themselves, not less than 15 years.[6]

When the bill was introduced into the Senate, March 11, a number of substitutes and amendments were offered but not carried. March 12, the bill was passed on its final reading by the casting vote of Lieutenant-Governor Mouton. The vote of the members stood twelve to twelve. When the clerk announced this result, Mouton said distinctly and emphatically that he was fully aware of the responsibility he should assume by the act that he was about to do; but as he was of the opinion that the time had arrived when the South should think, act, and provide for herself, he should vote "Yes." "There was a burst of applause from hundreds of auditors in the lobby, partly from admiration of the chivalric course of the presiding officer and partly doubtless from the success of the measure on that reading."

It was the object of the supporters of the bill to put it on its final passage at the earliest practicable moment. This could not be done on the thirteenth except by taking it up out of the regular order, and to do this required a

[5] *Daily Delta*, Jan. 31, 1858.

[6] *Daily Crescent*, Mar. 22, 1858.

two-thirds vote of the Senate, which was an impossible thing. But according to the new rule, members were allowed in alphabetical order to call up bills out of the regular order. Then the object of the opponents was to prevent a quorum by nonattendance. On this day there was something more than a quorum (seventeen) present. After one or two unimportant bills, Mr. Laidlaw called up the African Apprentice Bill. When the title was read, Pearce, senator from Bienville, moved adjournment and immediately disappeared, not waiting to vote; sixteen answered, all opposed to adjournment. No further action could be had on that or any other measure. The President stated that the African Apprentice Bill was before the Senate and would *remain before it until disposed of*. The implication was clear that no other business would be transacted until a final vote was taken upon the bill. And it was the evident determination of the advocates of the bill to support this position of the President to an extremity.

According to the press the question was very much complicated and rendered quadruply interesting by the fact, now generally understood, that advices had reached Baton Rouge from Washington adverse to the measure. "Wheels within wheels." The Baton Rouge correspondent concluded his account by saying, "on March 14th the bill was defeated in the Senate on its final reading by the withdrawal from its support of one of its warmest friends — Colonel Simmes. The vote stood for it 13; against it 15. Washington City has done the work."[7] According to the Ouachita *Register*, Colonel Simmes, while appreciating the justice and necessity of the bill, felt that it was due his constituents to postpone action thereon until the next session of the legislature and in voting for its postponement, he pledged himself to introduce the bill at the next session.[8]

[7] *Daily Crescent*, Mar. 16 and 17, 1858.

[8] *Daily Delta*, April 3, 1858.

A Senate committee had been appointed to investigate the African Immigration Bill. In its report it said: "We have had the same under our deliberate consideration, and after viewing it in all its bearings, have come to the conclusion that the measure is a good one, and ought to pass." It treated the legal, moral, and economic aspects of the question. It was not in violation of the state or federal Constitution or of treaty stipulations, or of any law of the state. Considering the barbarous condition of the African negro, emigration to the South would be a blessing. After their term of service was over the negroes could indenture themselves for a longer period until they had earned sufficient money to carry them home or to Liberia. They could thus carry the blessings of Republican government and the Christian religion to their countrymen. Economically it would be an advantage, for an additional labor supply was needed. Negro labor was better adapted to the cultivation of the great staples than any other labor. The whole world needed more of the staples and Louisiana should supply the demand. The only mention of a political need was that with the greater demand for negro labor, the price of slaves would rise until only the wealthy could own them. "The consequence would be estates of enormous magnitude at variance with the general weal and not altogether consistent with the genius of republican institutions."[9] The Senate, before its adjournment, ordered the printing of 10,000 copies of this report. The *Picayune* said that this showed that the project was not given up; the supporters of the bill evidently wished to gain the favor of the public for their scheme. The editor continued:

Its appearance in the Legislature was a surprise to the people, who had never looked, or asked for, or authorized such a sudden change in the long established and best settled policy

[9] *De Bow's Review*, XXIV, 421-424.

of the State. The vote in both Houses was a still greater surprise. Successful in one branch and barely defeated in the other against the pressure of outside influence and under circumstances of excitement rarely exhibited in the staid city of Baton Rouge. Yet outside of the Legislature and away from the influence gathered there to lobby the measure through before it could be revoked by popular opinion, the judgment against it is that of strong and unqualified disapproval.

As there would not be an election before the next meeting of the legislature, the only thing the people could do to defeat it was to express their disapproval through the press and through all organs which make public opinion known.[10]

As far as the details of the apprentice scheme were concerned, the Mississippi and Louisiana companies seemed to be alike. The following explanation was given of the legality of the measure. The criminal clause of the Federal Slave Trade Acts was this:

> That from and after the first day of January, 1808, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States or the Territories thereof any negro, mulatto, or person of color with intent to hold, sell, or dispose of such negro etc. as a slave or to be held to service or labor.

The apprentice scheme proposed the procuring of the voluntary arrival of voluntary laborers and this would be no violation of the law.[11] Mr. Hughes had engaged a gentleman eminently qualified to proceed to Africa and as a witness and superintendent attend to the voluntary enlistment and documentation of the negroes; and they were to be advised that the probabilities but not the certainties were that they would after the expiration of their term of service, be elevated into warranteeism.[12]

The *Crescent* and the *Daily Delta* were the only New Orleans papers that supported the scheme. The *Delta*

[10] *Daily Picayune*, Mar. 21, 1858.
[11] *Daily Delta*, Feb. 9, 1858.
[12] *Ibid.*, Mar. 9, 1858.

considered it the only practical measure for the "balance of power within the Union or an increase of power without the Union."[13] The *Crescent*, while maintaining the legality of the measure, could "see no reason why Southern Legislatures should be overscrupulous regarding the laws of Congress, when the Northern Legislatures break them and recommend their constituents to violate them just to injure the South. With the South, the game has been a losing one for more than twenty-five years and it is likely to remain so; we see no reason why it should be played much longer."[14]

The *Commercial Bulletin* (May 19) quoted nineteen papers of the parishes, representing Old Line Whigs, Democrats, Americans, and Independents, all expressing disapproval of the bill on the grounds of legality, moral principle, and expediency. This same paper (March 8) considered that the proposition to incite the citizens of Louisiana to engage in an illicit trade under the subterfuge of its being an apprentice system did not become the dignity of any legislative body.

Many and varied were the arguments for the slave trade. Economically it would mean the regeneration of the South; for all her natural resources could be exploited, railroads built, factories established, and cities built up. The value of the American-born negroes would increase for they could be used as couple workers — that is they would work with and train the African negro. Politically it would be of value for all could own negroes and so there would no longer be in the South two classes with distinct interests. The border states would remain Southern in interest as they would keep their slaves. Morally it would be important because it would bring the African negro under the influence of civilization and Christianity.

[13] *Daily Delta*, Mar. 22, 1858.

[14] *Daily Crescent*, Mar. 22, 1858.

The principal argument against it was that whether instituted in the form of an apprentice scheme or a direct reopening it would be in violation of the Constitution, and as long as the state remained in the Union the laws should be obeyed. To many the first plan was more objectionable than the second. The Apprentice Bill would be in violation of the laws of Louisiana in regard to free negroes. The policy was to discourage their presence. Again, all Christendom was against the trade and so for the South to reopen it would place her in the position of antagonizing the whole civilized world. In case of a conflict with the North her cause would be weakened.

A resolution recommending the reopening of the African slave trade was introduced into the Texas House. It was referred to a committee which made a very elaborate report; no action was recommended because of the unpreparedness of the public mind.[15]

The question now comes as to what was the purpose of the movement. It seems of some significance that St. Paul, who introduced the Nicaragua resolutions, was the same person who introduced the African Apprentice Bill and that Delony, who presented the resolution in reference to the Monroe Doctrine, was from Feliciana, the headquarters of the Brigham Company. On February 19, Delony introduced a resolution that that part of the Governor's message relating to the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the equilibrium of the United States Senate, and the expansion of the area of slavery be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations. On March 3 St. Paul introduced a bill for the better protection of the war material belonging to the state.

At the commercial convention held in Montgomery in 1858 the discussion of the reopening of the African slave trade occupied almost the entire time. The major

[15] *Daily Delta*, Jan. 29, 1858.

ity of the members considered this as a proposition for the dissolution of the Union. Yancey acknowledged this but thought it a better issue than the election of a Black Republican president in 1860, when all the powers of the government, its army, its navy, and its treasury would be arrayed against the South.[16] All his later actions and words showed that he disapproved of the trade.

The attitude of Yancey and a few other of the radical "fire eaters" would seem to indicate that the attempted action in Louisiana was part of a movement to secure the dissolution of the Union and the creation of a separate confederacy in which they could develop without interference from northern fanatics.

[16] *De Bow's Review*, XXIV, 600.

THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEES OF THE ATTAKAPAS COUNTRY; OR EARLY LOUISIANA JUSTICE[1]

By H. L. Griffin

The expression "Early Justice in Louisiana" is meant to apply to the administration of justice, not in the whole state of Louisiana, but only in that part known as the Attakapas Country. The "justice" with which this paper will deal was dispensed in that region for a period of about six months during the year 1859; and was in nature somewhat akin to that justice dealt out a few years later by such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan. The organizations in this instance were known as Committees of Vigilance, or in the language of the natives of that section "Comités de Vigilance." These committees represented a popular uprising against a wave of crime that was sweeping over the region at that time and were revolutionary in character. They took the law into their own hands and dealt out punishment to criminals without any pretense to legality or to established rules of procedure. Before, however, one can well understand all the incidents of such a grave and radical movement, it is necessary that he get a view of the country and its inhabitants.

This region includes the present parishes of Calcasieu, Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, and Vermillion. It is called the Attakapas Country because it was at one

[1] This paper is based on the following sources of information: Alexander Barde, *Histoire des Comités de Vigilance aux Attakapas*; William H. Perrin (ed.), *Southwest Louisiana*; Felix Voorhies, Ms. on "Vigilance Committees"; interviews with Judge Felix Voorhies, Judge William Campbell, Alexander Mouton, and Maj. Paul DeClouet.

time inhabited by a fierce race of Indians of that name, who had the reputation of eating their prisoners of war. It was to this country that the exiled Acadians came to find permanent homes and a refuge from the political persecutions of their English conquerors. The broad, rolling prairies, the densely wooded forests, and the deep, murky, lazily flowing bayous, such as the Atchafalaya, the Teche, and the Vermillion have been most effectively described in Longfellow's *Evangeline*, and need no further description here. It is enough to say that the whole region is characterized by a richness of soil that can be found nowhere else in the United States. The opportunities which it offers for agricultural pursuits have always been great; and since its first discovery and exploration by La Salle and Bienville, these opportunities have attracted home-seekers from many parts of the world.

Before the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon by the United States in 1803, many settlers had come to this Attakapas Country, especially from France, Spain, the Canary Islands, and Acadia. Subsequent to its purchase many came, also, from the various states of the Union. Thus there was found in this territory quite a mixture of nationalities. The prevailing nationality, however, was the French; and the French language was almost universally spoken. This condition existed especially in the Attakapas section, and continues almost the same to the present day. In fact the French traditions and customs still exert a weighty influence not only on the daily lives of the people, but even on their attitude toward public questions — an attitude not always sympathetically appreciated by Anglo-Americans. Only a few days ago a good old "Yankee," who had migrated here from Indiana, having become exasperated at the conduct of a customer who had taken "French leave," was heard by the writer to exclaim: "Confound these Frenchmen; I

get so disgusted with them that I don't know what to say. This is not America; this is France. I tell these people they ought to join the Union."

Many of the settlers were, naturally, strangers to American customs and laws, and hence could not understand them; many others were criminally inclined, and not only did not want to understand them, but actively violated them. Entirely too many had brought with them from abroad corrupt socialistic and anarchistic ideas. Moreover, the country was still sparsely settled, and the seats of justice were far removed from the people and their activities. Consequently the law was often violated with impunity. Still, however, a large majority of the population consisted of peaceable and law-abiding citizens, who were content and anxious to cultivate their lands and live a life of simplicity and industry. It was this honest and thrifty class which, exasperated by the ravages of the lawbreakers, and carried away by their zeal to bring the offenders to justice, furnished the leaders who proposed and carried out such unusual and extreme measures for the suppression of crime.

It was while the Attakapas Country was at this stage of development, just before the Civil War, that the peace of this section was seriously disturbed. The cause of the disturbance was found to have its source in those same uneducated and lawless settlers who had come to the region from so many different places. At first their depredations were infrequent and well concealed. Gradually, however, when they had learned that the hand of justice was slow and uncertain, they became bolder and more open. Their earliest crimes consisted of petty thievery, but their later offenses involved greater stakes; and often consisted of overt acts of brigandage in which stores were robbed, houses were burned, and whole herds of cattle were corralled and driven away. In many instances the brigands made no attempt to conceal their

acts, boldly carrying out their expeditions in broad daylight. In the accomplishment of these offenses the perpetrators oftentimes committed, also, the crime of murder. The most significant thing about these depredations was that they all seemed to be directed by some master mind or by some central organization. This organization was evidently so thorough and so far-reaching that it was practically impossible to convict the offenders. In fact, later investigations proved that the individual criminals were banded together into organizations, each having its officers and regular place of meeting. These small bands were further united under a single head which directed the operations of the subordinate bands. Regular campaigns of crime were planned by the commanding officers and carried out by the smaller and subordinate organizations.

It is true that the criminals were often apprehended and even brought before the courts for trial, but in most cases they were acquitted. It was this apparent mockery of justice and the inability of the public prosecutors to secure convictions that caused property holders and peace-loving citizens to become alarmed. In fact, they had sufficient cause to be alarmed; for the attempts of the courts to enforce the laws were rendered ridiculously unavailing by the organized machinations of the bandits. The punishment of the criminals was rendered still more difficult by the misused ability of one or two well-known criminal lawyers of the Attakapas Country. These lawyers were natives, and were so well versed in the traditions and customs of the people of the section, and enjoyed such extensive acquaintance and favor among even the lowest classes of the population, that, in nearly every instance they were able to select a jury which they knew beforehand would return a verdict favorable to the defendant, no matter how revolting the crime he had committed. These same lawyers did not hesitate, in many

instances, according to the evidence of many citizens who still remember those conditions, to devote their brilliant talents to securing the release of offenders who, by all rules of justice, should have been sent to the penitentiary or the gallows. Naturally, therefore, these lawyers came to be in great demand among the brigands. As a consequence, then, of the many acquittals which resulted from their efforts and from perjured juries, the impression became general that it was useless to try to secure in the courts of the state the conviction of any of the outlaws.

Many instances of the way in which justice was defeated can be given. On one occasion a planter came suddenly upon a "neighbor" who had just killed a cow, and was in the act of carrying away the meat. "This is my cow," said the planter, "I shall have you prosecuted for larceny."

"Pshaw!" said the neighbor, "you are too intelligent to do that."

"Too intelligent! Why, do you mean to say that this is not my cow?"

"It may have been yours once," answered the neighbor, "but it is mine now."

"What!" said the planter. "This is your cow?"

"Certainly it is; you have sold her to me and I have paid you the price in the presence of witnesses."

"Monstrous! They will swear to a lie; you know this cow belongs to me. I will prosecute you all the same."

"As you please," said the neighbor, shrugging his shoulders as he went away with the meat.

He was prosecuted, but true to his word he produced seven witnesses in court who testified that he had purchased the cow from the planter, and had paid him in their presence. It is unnecessary to say that he was acquitted.

On another occasion a planter missed his favorite

cow. He mounted his horse and rode in search of her on the prairie surrounding his farm. Having come to a store at the roadside kept by a Frenchman, he was very much astonished to see the skin of the cow hanging on the fence.

"Where did you get that skin?" he asked the merchant.

"I have just bought it."

"From whom? It is the skin of my cow that was stolen last night."

"Had you come a little sooner, you would have seen the person who sold it to me. He has just left; but I cannot give his name."

"Be careful," said the planter, "the skin is in your possession. This is strong presumption, at least, that you yourself have stolen the cow; the more so that you refuse to give the name of the one who sold you the skin."

"I can't give his name," said the merchant.

"Very well, the grand jury will investigate the matter."

The merchant was indicted for larceny by the next grand jury. Although he was repeatedly warned by his attorney to disclose the name of the thief, to avoid being convicted himself, he steadfastly refused to speak. The case was tried and the evidence against him was direct and conclusive; nevertheless, he was acquitted. Throughout the trial he had shown no concern at all for his own precarious situation; and his acquittal did not appear to surprise him in the least. When asked by his counsel to explain how it was possible for the jury to render such a verdict against so conclusive evidence of guilt, he merely smiled and said: "I can speak now, although I will give no names. The man who sold me that skin was on that jury; and there were, besides him, five others who belong to his gang. I was sure of an acquittal. Had I given his name, my store would now be in

ashes, and I would probably be dead. I thought it more prudent to take my chances."

The foregoing illustrations are sufficient to explain the conditions that prompted the citizens of a large and growing section of Louisiana to take the law into their own hands. Whether they were justified in pursuing such an unusual course is hard to decide. However, the causes which would rightly prompt citizens to throw aside all established law and take the administration of justice into their own hands, in direct disobedience to the commands of the highest state authorities, must be grave ones indeed. At that time many good and sensible citizens of the disturbed section held that the state courts and officers were sufficient to meet the urgent needs of the situation; that any extraordinary measures needed should emanate from the state itself; and that any attempts on the part of individuals or societies to punish the offenders were wholly unwarranted and illegal. Still, there was a large majority of the population in the afflicted district strongly in favor of resorting to irregular justice. Those who supported the movement based their arguments in its favor on the broad and general principle that all authority emanates from the people; and that, when all established means of enforcing the laws of the state and protecting the lives and property of the citizens fail, then it devolves upon the people to take the law into their own hands, and see that justice is administered. Many went so far as to liken the situation to that in which the French found themselves on the eve of the French Revolution.

It was in January, 1859, that the plan of organizing committees of vigilance was first suggested. It was not until March of that year, however, that the first committee was organized at Cote-Gelée in Lafayette Parish. This organization was soon followed by others with similar motives, in the territory now composing the parishes

of Calcasieu, Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, and Vermillion. In all seven committees were organized. It is most interesting to note the reasons which the promoters of this movement gave in defense of the step they had taken. They are contained in the following proclamation issued by one of the executive committees, Mar. 16, 1859:

Fellow Citizens:

Having organized ourselves as vigilance committees, that is, having constituted ourselves a tribunal entirely independent of the other judicial tribunals created by law, we owe it to ourselves, as well as to you to give the reasons that have driven us into the revolutionary movement that we have inaugurated. We address ourselves to the honest people of the State, our peers in integrity, and who, like us, bow in sweet reverence to the laws enacted for the protection of society. We would blush to give any explanation either to the bandits who infest the district or to their friends or accomplices. We incline ourselves before that justice — that saintly justice that shields the innocent and strikes the guilty; we look her in the face, fellow citizens, because we have violated none of the duties that society imposes upon its members. This being promised, we veil her statue, so often insulted and spat upon by the bandits, and we say to those who, like us, have at heart the prosperity and dignity of their native state: Fellow Citizens: We have been subjected to a system of rapine and plunder without parallel in this country; our property is destroyed daily and hourly; our houses are burglarized and rifled of their contents; crime has its army in our midst with its generals, officers, and soldiers. We will tell you bluntly how it is that crime holds high carnival in our midst: the jury has failed most miserably in its mission. It has been guilty, in the face of God and society, of the abominable crime of perjury, for when jurors acquit those whose guilt is established beyond peradventure, they commit the crime of perjury, and place themselves on a level with those whom they have acquitted. Is it not to your knowledge, fellow citizens, that such verdicts are of daily occurrence in our courts of justice? If this criminal indulgence of the jury had no other effect than that of saving a few miscreants from the penitentiary, we would qualify it mere-

ly as a weakness without a name, but verdicts rendered contrary to the most convincing evidence, find an echo in the hearts of the corrupt people of the district; the acquittal of a bandit is a premium for the encouragement of vice, and opens a new field for the perpetration of crime. "He that sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind," says Scripture, and our district is an eloquent proof of this. As soon as the law became powerless for the repression of crime, what have we seen? The boldest robberies committed at night, in the day time, everywhere and at all times. We have seen the assassin and the incendiary following in the footsteps of the thief and of the robber; we have seen corruption festering in our midst, and extending its pestilential stench and rottenness to the very core of society. Do we exaggerate, fellow citizens? The bandits have a numerous and intelligent army, with chieftains shrouded in the dark, but issuing orders that are obeyed without hesitation by the soldiers. It is a mixing of whites and blacks, a confused mass of thieves and assassins, standing shoulder to shoulder in their progress of rapine, of plunder, and incendiarism, each one concurring to the ultimate success of the organization. Crops, cattle, everything in fact that constitutes the riches and ministers to the comfort of our laborious population, is exposed to the depredations of these bandits.

In this dangerous emergency, were we to await supinely for the action of the courts to check this growing evil, when everyone knows that our courts are powerless to protect us, with jurors who acquit the worst criminals, although there be superabundance of proof of their guilt? No! We have banded together, for self-protection is supreme — and, armed henceforth with the sword of justice, we have organized temporarily as a tribunal for the trial of the violators of the law. We have called ourselves Vigilance Committees, and our constitution contains but one word: Chastisement. The lash and the rope will be our arms, both terrible and dishonorable chastisements. Our organization is that of honesty against dishonesty, of society against crime, and we fear neither the censure of man nor the wrath of our enemies.

Now, fellow citizens, if you still hope to save from rapine and plunder that which you have earned by your labors; if you

wish to restore our corrupt society to a healthy standard, by branding with the infamy of exile or of the lash the men whose presence in our midst is an insult to public morality and a danger to our families, follow our example; join us, fellow citizens, in our holy crusade against vice and immorality; against rapine, murder, and incendiarism, and let us, with the lash, print on the backs of those wretches a catalogue of their crimes.

It is interesting to note that the various committees, while their organization, purposes and methods were in general alike, were under the direction of no central organization. Each one was independent and followed only the rules and regulations of its own making. Each organization as a rule elected a president, a secretary, and an assistant-secretary. In most instances there was an executive committee to decide emergency cases, and a marshal to carry out its orders. Meetings were held regularly, at which members were received into the organizations. In most cases members must swear to keep secret all the proceedings of their respective committees. In some instances the committees organized a miniature army, which assembled in the towns regularly to drill under an officer. Maj. Aurelian Saint-Julien was made commander of the military forces of all the committees. Gen. Alfred Mouton, a graduate of West Point, who was subsequently killed at the battle of Mansfield, was appointed drillmaster of the forces. These forces were organized in order to meet any organized armed resistance which it was thought the bandits might possibly offer. Altogether, the various committees could muster about four thousand armed and disciplined men. The forces at Lafayette had, as a part of their equipment, a four-pound brass cannon, nicknamed "Betsy," which they used regularly in the military maneuvers.

As has been said the punishments generally agreed upon by the committees consisted of banishment, the lash, and the rope. In a few instances the crimes and their punishments corresponded to those provided for in the

criminal code of the state; but as a rule no attention was given to established law or methods of procedure. Each committee enforced whatever rule it thought proper to use in apprehending, convicting, and punishing the offenders. The usual method of convicting one suspected of an offense was for certain members of the committee, in whose jurisdiction the crime had been committed, to call an informal meeting at which the guilt or innocence of the accused was determined. He was not allowed to be present even; and never given a chance to defend his cause. This treatment was accorded especially to those who had been acquitted by a jury that, in the estimation of the committee, had been "packed" or that had based its decision on the evidence of perjured witnesses. No consideration was shown to such persons accused.

These punishments, as administered, were extremely severe. One suspected by the committees was notified by an emmissary to leave the district within a given time. If he did not obey the order he was caught and severely lashed. Then if he did not obey he was given a still worse beating; and this punishment was repeated until he was glad to obey. Some of these whippings were exceedingly severe, as many as a hundred lashes with a trace strap or bridle rein being inflicted upon a single victim. The time limit for getting away, also, was so short that oftentimes the accused did not have time to dispose of his property or provide for moving his family, before he was compelled to leave.

On one occasion a suspect, charged with a number of crimes, was waylaid by twenty-two members of one of these committees, who surrounded him almost before he was aware of their presence. After having dragged the miserable wretch into their midst, they each began to rain blows upon him with their whips.

"There," said one as he struck him a terrific blow, "that is for my cotton-mill which you burned."

"Take that," said another, "for stealing my horse."

"That," said a third, "for driving away my cattle and selling them."

"And that, and that," said all the others as they took their turn at applying their lashes.

In this manner the punishment was continued until the victim was completely overcome, and ready to pledge himself to leave the country. The death penalty was also inflicted by these committees, and more than one poor rascal was left swinging to a tree, or lying in a crumpled heap as a result of the deadly aim of a firing squad.

Such a radical move as the organization and methods of these committees could not, of course, be undertaken without attracting much notice from the press, from the state authorities, and from men of public affairs. Probably without exception all the papers in the parishes where the committees existed gave them their strongest support. The *Courier* of Opelousas, the *Democrat* of St. Martinsville, and the *Echo* of Lafayette, defended the committees and their propaganda in the strongest terms. The New Orleans papers were divided in their attitude, the *Times* and the *Democrat* supporting the state authorities against the committees. Governor Wickliffe and the state prosecutor of that judicial district, A. Olivier, denounced them in most uncompromising terms as rebels against the law and order of the state. In fact, many prominent and influential citizens of the district took the side of the state authorities. On the other hand the committees received the strong support of such men as ex-Gov. Alexander Mouton, Gen. Alfred Mouton, Maj. Aurelian Saint-Julien, and Alcée Judice, all of whom took an active part in the work of the committees. Governor Wickliffe gave official notice of his opposition to them in the following proclamation:

Whereas, official information has been conveyed to us by the District attorney of the 14th Judicial District of Louisiana,

that a certain number of persons of the parishes of Vermillion and of St. Martin, organized as Vigilance Committees, have in violation of the law committed sundry outrages on persons, and have been guilty of depredations on property of citizens of these parishes, and have resisted the officers of the law who have attempted to put a stop to their illegal proceedings; and

Whereas, it appears that the officers of courts of justice have been unable to bring these violators of the law before the courts, with means within their reach — Now, therefore, I have thought proper to issue this, my proclamation to invite these committees to disband and disperse; and I call on all the good citizens of the State to lend their assistance for the arrest and prosecution of these violators of the law.

Given under our signature and seal of the State at Baton Rouge, this 28th day of May A. D. 1859, and the 83rd year of the independence of the U. S. of America.

By the Governor — Robt. C. Wickliffe
Andrew S. Herron — Sect'y of State.

The committees heeded not this proclamation of the governor. On the other hand it infused new life into the brigands, who became bolder and more insolent than ever. Believing that the governor meant to come to their aid with the state militia, they called themselves "Anti-Vigilants," and began to make plans for an open military campaign against those identified with the vigilance committees. To this end they brought together stores of arms and ammunition on a certain farm at Bayou Queue Tortue, near Lafayette. It was suspected that their intention was to attack, pillage and burn the town of Lafayette; and such proved to be the case. The vigilance committees at once inaugurated a movement to disperse them, and, if possible, in one supreme effort to break their power completely and drive them from the state. Accordingly the committees began to assemble levies of armed men. These forces, led by Major Saint-Julien, advanced from Lafayette to make the attack. His forces, numbering 700 men, were fully armed, well drilled, and

had with them the brass cannon, called "Betsy." The "Anti-Vigilants," had, according to some estimates, 1,800 men. They seemed determined to fight, but when the brass cannon was unmasked in the final encounter which took place on Sept. 3, 1859, most of them took to their heels. In the chase that followed about 200 were finally captured. There were taken, also, by the forces of the committees, near 1,000 small arms of various kinds. Of the 200 prisoners taken, all but eighty were released on their promising never again to molest the peace of the district. These eighty were then bound and, according to the reports of eye witnesses, laid with their faces to the ground and lashed until they had promised to leave the state never to return.

The power of the bandits was thus completely crushed. Hundreds of them had been driven from the state and the others had been scared and beaten into submission. There was no further trouble on their account and conditions resumed once again their normal aspect. The work of the committees being apparently at an end, they disbanded, thus bringing to a close a movement which for a period of nearly six months had threatened to plunge the state into civil war.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARDS TEXAN INDEPENDENCE

By J. E. Winston

In 1835 there were about one thousand newspapers published in the United States, among which were some thirty-five dailies. When hostilities broke out between the Anglo-American settlers in Texas and the Mexicans, deep interest was evinced in the cause of the struggling colonists by their brethren in the United States. The leading newspapers of the period devoted a large amount of space to the events transpiring beyond the Sabine, and the part played by the press in arousing sympathy and interest in the cause of the Texans can hardly be over-estimated. Says one writer:

> In the days of the Revolution, Texas could not have succeeded if the journals of New Orleans and of the United States had not befriended her. The feeling of sympathy with the struggling Texans lay dormant, and it took editorials breathing patriotism in every line to awake them into doing something. This awakening the editors felt to be their task, and nobly they did their work.

And these New Orleans editors rendered a double service to the cause of Texas; for not only did they awaken in the hearts of their readers a sentiment in favor of those struggling for their liberties, but their journals served also as the chief medium by which Texas news was disseminated throughout the Union; for very few of the eastern journals were represented by correspondents in New Orleans. The appeals of the Texan authorities for aid, the inducements in the way of land

offered volunteers, the accounts of Fannin's massacre, were all spread broadcast throughout the states east of the Mississippi, and served to arouse in the citizens of these states the keenest interest in the fate of those engaged in a life and death struggle with the Mexicans.

It will be interesting to pass in review the attitude of the leading journals in the United States towards the revolutionary movement which broke out in Texas in the fall of 1835. And first of the newspapers of New Orleans. Of the five daily newspapers in this city at the time of the Texas revolution, four were friendly to Texas; one, the *Post and Union*, was hostile. These four were the *Commercial Bulletin*, the *Bee*, the *True American*, and the *Courier*.[1]

Just as New Orleans was the rendezvous for volunteers going to Texas, so that city served as a center from which a knowledge of the affairs relating to Texas was spread throughout the Union. It was upon the journals of this city that the newspapers of the United States largely relied for their information as to what was happening across the border. A typical comment of the New Orleans papers during this period is the following extract, taken from the *Commercial Bulletin* of Mar. 31, 1836:

> . . . In the meantime, although we invoke no infraction of the treaties established and recognized between Mexico and our country, and would not render ourselves amenable to the laws by raising troops or doing what might be regarded as violating solemn compacts — still we do say that regarding the contest in which the Texans are engaged as a struggle for the most invaluable rights of God to man, a struggle against inhuman oppression and tyranny, they are entitled to our warmest sympathies, our best wishes, nay more, to our private contributions for their deserving need.

Two Mississippi journals of prominence during this

[1] See, for these facts, "New Orleans Newspaper Files," by Alexander Dienst, published in Texas Historical Association, *Quarterly*, IV, 140.

period were the Natchez *Daily Courier*, and the Woodville *Republican*.

The *Courier* hotly repudiated the suggestion of John Quincy Adams that there was danger of a war with Mexico for the purpose of reëstablishing slavery. "Thus, for the first time in Congress, had it been hinted even by a whisper that slavery was the object of Texan liberty." The Woodville *Republican* was an enthusiastic supporter of the Texan cause. After congratulating the Texans on their triumph over their foes, it proceeds as follows:

> God grant that the progress of tyranny and misrule commenced by our rulers here, and meekly and tamely acquiesced in, by the people, may not drive the small remnant of the spirit of '76 yet lingering among us, to this new land of promise. Heaven forbid that this event should occur; but the aspect is now unpropitious . . . Economy and Reform can alone save us.[2]

This journal pronounced itself in favor of the annexation of Texas which, it averred, would come in as a slave-holding state.[3] Very different was the impression produced upon different minds by the attitude of Jackson touching the annexation of Texas to the United States. According to Professor McElroy, the man to whose heart the reannexation of Texas was dearer than to anyone else was Andrew Jackson. "We must regain Texas, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must" is a statement reiterated in his letters. Far different is the view taken of the situation by the Woodville *Republican*. "The President 'prates' too much about neutrality. We would not be surprised if he were to oppose the annexation of Texas to the United States."

Contrary to the opinion, formerly so prevalent, that the South was a unit in desiring the annexation of Texas to the United States, we find striking instances of southern opposition to Texas becoming a part of the American

[2] Issue of Feb. 27, 1836.

[3] *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1836.

Union. Among these were two Mississippians, Joseph Riddle, a lawyer, who had fought as a volunteer in the Texas revolution, and Alexander Jones, a physician, author, and inventor of some note.[4] Another Mississippian argued that the acknowledgement of Texan independence would prove a dark day for the South — "our territory," he adds, "being already of sufficient extent and our frontier enlarged enough." The only thing that could render the independence of Texas desirable or worth while was the hope that it would become the slave market of the whole South.[5] In the opinion of these two a brighter destiny awaited Texas as an independent commonwealth than as a member of the Union; at any rate, Texas with her slave property should stand aloof until the question of slavery or anti-slavery was forever put to rest in the United States. Similarly, in his inaugural address of Dec. 10, 1838, Lamar gave utterance to this sentiment: "I have never been able myself to perceive the policy of the desired connection, or discover in it any advantage, either civil, political, or commercial, which could possibly result to Texas." On the other hand, he predicted a long train of consequences of the most appalling character and magnitude in case Texas should cast in its fortune with the republic of the North. The Woodville *Republican* commented in this manner upon the attitude of Lamar:

> The identity of the interests and institutions of Texas will free them from the sectional strifes with which this country (the South) is harassed — there taxes will be uniform. The slaveholding states are burdened with taxes levied upon them and expended in other sections by the representatives of those benefited by such disbursements.[6]

Texas, on the contrary, would set an example of a

[4] See Elizabeth Howard West, "Southern Opposition to the Annexation of Texas," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, July, 1914.

[5] See Philadelphia *National Gazette*, June 25, 1836.

[6] Issue of Dec. 29, 1838.

pure system of free trade.[7] One recalls, in this connection, the harsh terms in which Governor McDuffie of South Carolina spoke of the Texans and their struggle for independence: "You are doubtless aware," said he, "that the people of Texas, by an almost unanimous vote, have expressed their desire to be admitted into our confederacy, and application will probably be made to Congress for that purpose. In my opinion, Congress ought not even to entertain such a proposition in the present state of the controversy."[8] Such expressions as these show clearly that as yet the significance of the slavery question in regard to Texas was not fully appreciated.

On the whole, the assistance rendered the Texans by Mississippians was not as great as might have been expected from their proximity to the scene of the conflict.

In striking contrast with the apathy of the people of this state was the enthusiasm manifested in the Texan cause by the citizens of Kentucky. Nowhere was greater interest felt in the plight of the struggling Texans than among the people of the Blue Grass region. Hundreds of volunteers and thousands of dollars went from Kentucky in furtherance of the cause of Texan independence. No journal espoused the cause of the Texans more heartily than did the *Kentucky Gazette*, published at Lexington. Its columns were freely placed at the disposal of those who had at heart the fortunes of the dwellers beyond the Sabine. Effective support was likewise rendered by the Lexington *Intelligencer*, a journal which, like the *Gazette*, never wavered in upholding the rights and liberties of the Anglo-American settlers. The files of the *Courier-Journal*, published at Louisville, Kentucky, are not available, though there can be no doubt that this paper exerted a wide influence in arousing interest in the affairs of Texas. Other Kentucky journals

[7] See letter of Wharton to Austin, Dec. 11, 1836, in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1907, I, 152.

[8] *Niles' Register*, LI, 229, 230.

that espoused the cause of Texas were the Lexington *Observer* and *Kentucky Reporter*, published at Lexington, and the *Commonwealth* and the *Argus*, both published at Frankfort.

To the cause of Texan independence, Kentucky gave of her sons and means unstintedly. Gen. Felix Houston, writing from Natchez in the spring of 1836, has this to say: "I wish to get some men from Kentucky. There is no difficulty in getting as many as I want there, but more difficulty in rejecting those I do not want."[9] No little credit is due the editors of Kentucky newspapers that such a sentiment in favor of the Texans should have existed in the state. With one exception, no trace has been found of any opposition being offered by Kentuckians to the annexation of Texas. In the Lexington *Intelligencer* of July 12, 1836, appeared an interesting article in which the writer urges the people of Texas to avoid any connection with the southern states; to forbid the immigration of slaves or slaveholders, and depicts in glowing terms all the benefits that would flow from a population of free men. This is precisely the kind of argument, as we have seen, that was used by those Mississippians, referred to above, who opposed the annexation of Texas. This was commented on by Wharton, one of the Texan commissioners to the United States in 1836.[10]

According to one of the leading Kentucky journals, six newspapers in the state were opposed to the annexation of Texas, but the names of these are not given.[11] The attitude of the press of the state as a whole is no doubt more faithfully reflected in a quotation found in the *Kentucky Gazette* of July 7, 1836, which is copied from the New Orleans *Bee*. "But for Presidents Monroe and Adams, Texas would long ago have been what she should be, a state of the American Union."

[9] Richmond *Enquirer*, May 3, 1836.

[10] Wharton to Austin, Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1907, I, 152.

[11] *Kentucky Gazette*, Nov. 16, 1837.

Much harm was done the Texan cause by unfavorable reports of that region brought back by disappointed emigrants and published far and wide in the newspapers of the United States. A striking illustration of this is seen in the detailed statement of their grievances published in the Kentucky newspapers by Captain Postlethwaite and Colonel Wilson, who led a command of volunteers to Texas in the summer of 1836. Their report constituted a slander upon Texas and its people, and took the form of an attack upon Gen. T. Jefferson Chambers, who vigorously repelled the charges made by Wilson and Postlethwaite. These articles were published by the *Courier* and *Journal* of Natchez in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Documents concerning Texas and the Controversy between General T. J. Chambers and Messrs. Wilson and Postlethwaite.* The publicity given this affair by the newspapers undoubtedly had a deterrent effect upon prospective emigrants. Equally effective in deterring emigrants were the unfavorable comments upon the Texas situation by the Charleston (S. C.) *Patriot*, which remarked that "the gallant corps of Volunteer Greys from New Orleans has generally returned disgusted with the service, saying they would no longer fight to enrich a few land speculators."[12] Similarly the Randolph (Tenn.) *Recorder* wrote: "Volunteers are returning and reporting very discouragingly of the inhabitants of Texas. The inhabitants are poor, and care not a fig under what government they live. The principal object of the majority of the inhabitants is plunder and pillage."[13] The spreading of such reports as these could not but dampen the enthusiasm of volunteers. This accounts in part, no doubt, for the apathy of Virginians towards the struggle between the Texans and their oppressors. It should be said, however, that what Virginians lacked in

[12] See Richmond *Enquirer*, Mar. 26, 1836.

[13] Virginia *Herald*, Mar. 23, 1836; New York *Courier and Enquirer*, Oct. 31, 1835.

the way of numbers, they made up for by the high quality of the service rendered the young republic.

In its issue of July 17, 1835, the Richmond *Enquirer* printed an excerpt from the New York *Courier* which stated tersely the situation in Texas at that time.

> Each succeeding day is rendering Texas of more importance to the United States from the fact that it is rapidly being settled by our own people, and the very probable supposition that in a few years it will constitute a portion of our Union. In settling the boundary line between Texas and the United States, the Rio Grande should be, and in all probability will be, fixed upon as the dividing line, and thus, the thousands of American citizens who are now settling what is yet a foreign country, will once more find themselves enjoying the blessings and protection of our liberal laws.

The attitude of two of the leading Virginia papers may be succinctly stated. The Richmond *Enquirer*, while suggesting impracticable schemes for the incorporation of Texas with the United States, was opposed to the purchase of Texas by the government.[14] On the other hand, the Richmond *Whig* was convinced that Texas must be purchased by the United States government and carved into two or more slaveholding states.[15] To this paper a war for absolute independence was quite premature and impolitic.[16] There was little doubt in the mind of the editor of the *Whig* that our government would gladly catch at the slightest pretext for a quarrel with Mexico, if for no other reason than to divert the people from a scrutiny of domestic affairs.[17] Wharton, one of the Texan commissioners to the United States, writing to Austin in December, 1836, alluded to the imprudent attitude of the *Whig* touching the annexation of Texas by using language calculated to irritate the North.[18] One of

[14] Issues of Oct. 27 and 30, and Dec. 19, 1835.

[15] *Ibid.*, April 15, 1836.

[16] *Ibid.*, April 29, 1836.

[17] Issue of May 20, 1836.

[18] Wharton to Austin, Dec. 11, 1836, Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1907, I, 152.

the few articles friendly to Mexico which has been observed during this time is to be found in the columns of the *Whig* of July 22, 1836. The editor seeks to justify Mexico in defending the integrity of her territory, and contends that the existing treaty with Mexico was binding upon citizens of the United States. Touching a proper boundary line, the *Enquirer* was an ardent expansionist. Quoting the New Orleans *Bee* of Mar. 19, 1836, it says: "Let the independence of Texas be recognized by the United States. Let its bounds be extended to the Rio Grande and to California and the Pacific Ocean, and we shall have easy access to Asia." This recalls a remark attributed to the President. Wharton, writing to Rusk, says: "General Jackson says that Texas must claim the Californias on the Pacific in order to paralyze the opposition of the North and East to annexation."[19] The Texas question is tersely dealt with in the following statement of the Richmond *Enquirer*: "It is impossible for Texas to remain long under the dominion of Mexico." "The character of the 'Texonians,'" it continued, "is essentially different from that of the Mexicans, they know too much of the principles of republicanism, are too much attached to the free institutions they have been taught from childhood."[20]

Enthusiasm in the cause of Texas was by no means confined to the region south of the Potomac. The *United States Gazette*, one of the leading Philadelphia papers, was consistently friendly to Texas. Its columns were freely made use of by writers who contributed numerous articles on the Texas question. The question of slavery and the bearing of the possible independence of Texas upon the further extension of slavery received a considerable amount of treatment. This journal encouraged the citizens of Philadelphia and of Pennsylvania to aid

[19] Wharton to Rusk, Feb. 16, 1837, *ibid.*

[20] Issue of Aug. 7, 1836, quoting New Orleans *True American* of July 17.

the Texan cause and right nobly did they respond; the citizens of the great eastern state rendered valuable moral and material assistance to the struggling Texans.

Far different was the attitude of the Philadelphia *National Gazette* to the events happening in Texas in the spring of 1836. The hostile attitude of this journal led to the editor being denounced as a "bloody papist" and to his conduct being severely criticized by the friends of Texas. This paper was convinced that the chief cause for commencing the struggle against Mexico was for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade; no justification for rebellion existed on the part of the Texans; their cause was destitute of all claim upon the friends of genuine liberty and right.[21] To the editor of the *National Gazette* Burnet's proclamation prohibiting slavery was proof positive that the Texans were fighting "Freedom's battle" for the purpose of riveting slavery's chain.[22] A war waged for absolute independence was impolitic and quite premature; the contest, moreover, was a hopeless one for the "Texians," their only salvation being in the interference of our government. Austin, Archer, Wharton, Burnet, and the rest of the Texan leaders were an unscrupulous lot; those who did not find it safe to live at home had found an asylum in Texas; the standard of independence had been raised for the benefit of land speculators. Even the news of Fannin's massacre led the editor to express pity for the "unsophisticated philanthropy and tender-hearted compassion" of those who mourned the fate of the victims of Mexican atrocity.[23] It is almost needless to say that this journal found the conduct of General Gaines upon the border decidedly reprehensible, and predicted disaster and bloody consequences as the result of his action.[24]

[21] See issues of April 20 and May 12, 17, and 30, 1836.

[22] *Ibid.*, May 19, 1836.

[23] *Ibid.*, April 28, 1836.

[24] *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1836.

The Philadelphia *National Gazette* was more pronounced in its hostility to the cause of Texas than any other journal that has been read by the writer. In its columns are to be found the old stock-in-trade arguments against recognizing the independence of Texas. In the opinion of the *Evening Star* of Philadelphia, "Texas sooner or later from its position must become the property of the United States." [25]

A casual examination of the newspapers of New York City reveals the fact that the citizens of that metropolis were deeply interested in the outcome of the Texas Revolution. Nowhere was there a livelier discussion of the neutrality of the United States and the subject of annexation than among the New York papers. The limits of this paper forbid a complete presentation of the views of the New York editors on these subjects. The leading papers in the city were the *Evening Post* and the *Courier and Enquirer*. First, let us glance at the attitude of the *Post*. In its columns is to be found a spirited defense of the character of the Texas settlers.[26] Generally speaking, the *Post* defended General Gaines and the administration for the action taken by the government in defense of the western frontier.[27] This journal, like many another, exaggerated the danger from the Indians. As to the question of neutrality, it held that it was the "plain duty of the Government not to deviate from the settled policy of the nation by meddling with the domestic quarrels of our neighbors. That duty has been, and will continue to be scrupulously performed." The editor was assured that violators of our neutrality would receive no encouragement from "our veteran, and honest chief magistrate." [28] The *Post* was vigorous and outspoken in its opposition to the premature recognition

[25] Quoted by the Frankfort (Ky.) *Commonwealth*, Nov. 14, 1835.

[26] New York *Post*, Nov. 6, 1835.

[27] *Ibid.*, May 4, 11, and 12, July 29, and Aug. 2, 1836.

[28] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1836.

of Texas, for it mistakenly supposed that war was not over. It was assured that a set of speculators were at work; the Texans were even rebuked for having lived under the arbitrary government of Mexico. When satisfactory information was obtained of the ability of the new government to sustain itself, then it would be time for the President to act; for recognition by Congress would be a gross usurpation of the functions of the Executive.[29] Even more premature was the question of admitting Texas into the Union; this would be a shameless departure from our hitherto proclaimed policy of non-interference; the owners of Texas lands were naturally eager for the admission of Texas into the Republic; finally, it asserted, let Texas apply to England.[30] It is interesting to note that the question of slavery is not alluded to in this discussion.

By means of a special correspondent at New Orleans, the New York *Courier and Enquirer* was able to set forth the situation in Texas in an unusually complete manner. The attitude of this influential journal towards the revolutionary movement was not entirely consistent; in fact, the hypothesis has been suggested that a seeming change of front in the summer of 1836 was due to Mexican gold. In the fall of 1835 it denounced the action of a committee of New Orleans citizens receiving donations to aid "a set of frontiersmen styling themselves Texians or Texonians." "Let Texas be conquered from Mexico — what then? the history of Texas will be that of Mexico; and so on till Panama and the Pacific shall be the boundaries of our restless craving and unsatiable avarice."[31] A few months later the *Courier and Enquirer* suggested that a proper boundary line between the United States and Mexico would be the great desert that reached within six miles of the Rio Grande.[32] But partisan considera-

[29] New York *Post*, June 17 and 18, July 1 and 5, 1836.

[30] *Ibid.*, June 17 and Dec. 13, 1836.

[31] *Courier and Enquirer*, Oct. 28 and 31, and Nov. 13, 1835.

[32] *Ibid.*, Mar. 10, 1836.

tions did not prevent the editor from taking an impartial view of events happening on the southwestern frontier: thus President Jackson's course is described as "cautious and judicious"; the advance of the United States troops to Nacogdoches was only a precautionary measure.[33] By December, 1836, the *Courier and Enquirer* was advocating the acknowledgment of Texan independence by this government. The friends of Texas were warned to shun the overtures of England. Mexico was entitled to no claim either of forbearance or delicacy on the part of our government or our citizens.[34] Its comments upon the President's message of December 21, 1836, were highly judicious: the editor argued that the first movement looking to recognition should come from Congress; the prospect of immediate incorporation with the United States might cause England to interfere.[35] The questions connected with the admission of Texas into the Union are fully and interestingly discussed in an editorial of Dec. 29, 1836. "Setting aside the Abolitionists there would be no opposition to the admission of Texas into the Union." With this may be compared Wharton's statement in this same month: "Our foes the leading prints of the North and East everywhere oppose . . . [annexation] on the old grounds of an opposition to the extension of slavery and of a fear of southern preponderance in the councils of the nation."[36] Equally interesting is his further comment:

> The Southern papers, those in favor of annexation, are acting most independently . . . Language such as the following is uttered by the most respectable journals such as the Richmond *Whig*, Charleston *Mercury*, etc. "The North must choose between the Union with Texas added — or no Union.

[33] *Courier and Enquirer*, Oct. 24, 1836.

[34] *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1836.

[35] *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1836.

[36] Wharton to Austin, Dec. 11, 1836, Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1907, I, 152.

Texas will be added and then farewell forever abolitionism and northern influence."

If Wharton's observation be correct, then it would seem the issue between the free and slave states in regard to Texas was becoming fairly well drawn by the end of 1836.

A staunch defender of the administration's policy toward Texas was the Albany *Argus*. This journal was highly indignant at some of the "Whig presses" which attempted to palliate the enormities of the Mexican tyrant, Santa Anna.[37] In an editorial two and one-half columns in length it defended the victors of San Jacinto against the imputations of cruelty charged against them by the New York *American*.[38] The *American* was annoyed at the prospects of the Texans sustaining themselves against their foreign oppressors.[39] In the eyes of the *Argus*, the alarmists of the opposition journals were merely giving an illustration of their ill-concealed Mexican partialities in their promptness in condemning General Gaines.[40] On the whole the metropolitan journals approved General Gaines's course. It is surprising to find the *Argus* arguing in December that circumstances did not yet warrant the recognition of Texan independence by our government.[41]

In the opinion of the Boston *Evening Transcript* the "Texanians" must trust chiefly for assistance in time of need to the border states.[42] The report of the New Orleans Greys leaving for Texas called forth this comment from the *Transcript*: "What a capital chance for large cities to get rid of their *loafers*. What man in his senses would volunteer in a Texas Expedition, who could earn

[37] *Argus*, June 1, 1836.
[38] *Ibid.*, June 14, 1836.
[39] Issue of July 4, 1836.
[40] *Argus*, Aug. 12, 1836.
[41] *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1836.
[42] *Evening Transcript*, Oct. 30, 1835.

an honest living at home?'' This statement was characterized by one Maj. B. Hammatt Norton as ''the most blackguard article ever written, and was so thought by *everybody* on 'change.'' [43] There was no doubt in the mind of the editor of the Boston *Atlas* that the true course of the rebellion in Texas was to be found in the desire of Austin to introduce slavery.[44]

In conclusion, we may note briefly the attitude of the prominent journals published at Washington. Of these, the *Globe*, as might be expected, was an ardent defender of the administration's policy towards Mexico; it defended General Gaines's call for militia, and accused prominent Whig journals of seeking to destroy the character and influence of General Houston.[45] The attitude of the *National Intelligencer* may be gathered from its contending that ''the citizens of the United States who had entered the Mexican territory in hostile array, with arms in their hands, have done so at their own peril, and have only themselves to blame for their consequences.'' [46] The *Intelligencer* deprecated the attitude of General Gaines in advancing to ''old Fort Nacogdoches.'' [47] This journal was accused by Democratic papers of charging General Jackson with provoking a war for the benefit of Mexico, and for the relief of the surplus revenue.[48] In August the editor wrote: ''The Rubicon is passed, a war entered upon without the shadow of justification, or so much as provocation from the Mexican people.'' [49]

From these extracts it is clear that the attitude of the *Intelligencer* was determined primarily by hostility to the administration rather than by an attempt to analyze fairly the Texas situation.

[43] *Evening Transcript*, Nov. 12, 1835.
[44] Quoted in Philadelphia *National Gazette*, April 29, 1836.
[45] See Albany *Argus*, June 22 and Aug. 3, 1836.
[46] Quoted in Philadelphia *National Gazette*, April 28, 1836.
[47] Issues of Mar. 10 and Sept. 9, 1836.
[48] Albany *Argus*, May 20, 1836.
[49] *National Intelligencer*, Aug. 13, 1836.

Such in brief was the attitude of some of the leading American newspapers towards the Texas question. While partisan considerations must be taken into account in explaining the attitude of some of the opposition journals, on the whole, it would seem that a decidedly friendly tone characterizes the utterances of the great majority of editors. It was well for the Texans and the cause of Texas independence that such should have been the case; for among the influences that had their share in bringing the struggle against Mexico to a successful issue, due weight must be given the American newspapers of the period.

THE NEW INVASION OF THE GOTHS AND VANDALS

By Isaac Joslin Cox

Shortly after the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, the American general met the governor of West Florida in the city where we are now gathered. In the course of a labored interview he advised the Spanish official that his nation could best meet the situation thus unexpectedly thrust upon her by exchanging the Floridas for the new American acquisition. The Mississippi must become the boundary between the United States and the Spanish colonies. Otherwise the western frontiersmen "like the ancient Goths and Vandals would precipitate themselves upon the weak defenses of Mexico, overturn everything in their path, and propagate in their course the pestilent doctrines that had desolated the most valuable part of Europe and deprived whole kingdoms of their foundations."[1]

A few years later, when the Spaniards were engaged in their thrilling struggle with Napoleon, the same governor of West Florida called his fellow-citizens, the Romans of the modern world. The recent repulse of the British at Buenos Ayres, the collapse of Miranda's expedition against Caracas, and the valiant uprising against the usurper in the Peninsula gave point to his utterance.[2] His metaphor was echoed, albeit uncon-

[1] Wilkinson's "Reflections," wrongly attributed to Governor Vizente Folch, occur in J. A. Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, II, 325-347. Cf. *American Historical Review*, XIX, 798, note 11.

[2] Folch to Someruelos, Reservado No. 130, Legajo 1566, "Cuban Papers." Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cf. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I, 217, note 10.

sciously, when the Spanish chargé represented himself as a modern Brutus urged on by the spirit of the Spanish people to protest against the recent exactions of the American government.[3]

These chance utterances may serve to introduce our main theme, the earlier stages of rivalry between Spanish-American and Anglo-American.[4] They likewise indicate something of the pride with which the transplanted Iberian met his despised antagonist. Undoubtedly he exhibits presumption as well as pride in thus comparing himself to the masters of the ancient world. But we must remember that the people of the Iberian Peninsula, once thoroughly subdued, were more Roman than their conquerors; and that memorials of their proud position in the ancient empire survived the dark ages of Gothic and Moorish domination. Then too, in their turn the united Spanish people had subdued in the new world an area far surpassing the empire ruled from the Tiber or the Bosporus. Over that vast colonial empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and especially over the Mexican Viceroyalty, there was impending such an invasion as their forbears had experienced fifteen hundred years before. If in their measures for resisting it they displayed more pride than power, their pride was measurably justified.

It was equally natural for them to apply to their rivals epithets that recalled the early barbarian invaders. Moreover the advice of the American general, already quoted, confirmed them in this practice and led them farther afield. His "Goths and Vandals" — a name which he possibly applied in spite to those frontiersmen whom he had been able to deceive but never to corrupt —

[3] Foronda to R. Smith, Sept. 26, 1809, Spanish Notes II, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State.

[4] It may be well to note that neither of the chief racial stocks on the American continent named itself but in time each accepted the hyphenated designation coined by the other.

became to them, "Scythians" and "Huns," as well as "white Indians." Even the mercenary intrigues of the General himself suggested the days when Germanic chieftains shamelessly sold the imperial insignia or betrayed their immediate followers. We know little of the Goths and Vandals, except what their conquered enemies have told us; but subsequent speculation about them has not proved wholly profitless. In like manner it may be worth while to note how the Anglo-American advance to the Gulf and the Mississippi, and into the Far Southwest affected contemporary Spanish observers. Such a process will not prove flattering to ourselves, but it may give us a much-needed corrective view of "manifest destiny," and serve to explain the sentiment which certain Spanish-American peoples cherish toward their great northern neighbor.

In our somewhat-forced comparison it is possible to show a certain similarity between the physical features of the old Roman world and those of its modern exemplar. Turning the map of North America so as to afford a horizontal view, we may note that the position and direction of the St. Lawrence suggest the Rhine, with a New France corresponding to ancient Gaul. To the southward flows the Mississippi — a second Danube — with the Ohio as an enlarged Theiss. East of the larger stream and south of the Ohio, between the Appalachians and the Gulf, lies the American Dacia. Ruled uncertainly from the Crescent City, weakly assuming the rôle of the capital on the Golden Horn, this wilderness region served as a rampart for the trans-Mississippi provinces until the advancing Anglo-American tide broke through the ineffectual barrier of aborigines and occupied the weakly defended littoral beyond.

In the distant city on the Mexican tableland, the center of vice-regal power in North America, one does not perceive a close counterpart to the City of the Seven

Hills. The Cyclades and Sporades are not repeated in the Antilles nor do Florida, Yucatan, and Lower California more than faintly suggest the three great peninsulas of southern Europe. But in the Mediterranean region of the New World the pioneer adventurers of north European stock encountered the semi-tropic seas, the contrast of upland and lowland, the sweep of mighty rivers, the challenge of lofty mountains — in effect, an alluring physical setting similar to that which drew the Teutonic invaders from the forests of central Europe and enhanced the spoils of a dismembered empire.

Nor are the actors on the modern stage unworthy to compare with those of imperial renown. La Salle like Cæsar would subdue a wilderness empire; Iberville like Aurelius warned of perils beyond the frontiers. Carondelet and Folch, loyal commanders worthy of a more glorious régime, prepared to defend the border provinces against imminent invasion, while Peñalvert and Alamán strove to counteract a shortsighted policy that introduced an alien race within their imperiled land. But whether Frenchman and Spaniard combined forces against the Anglo-American or strove with each other for uncertain and unhonored leadership against him, their efforts to check his advance were wholly in vain. Like his Germanic ancestors, the Anglo-American displayed an inappeasable land hunger.

The eighteenth century was just opening when Iberville uttered his warning against the thin but rapidly growing line of English settlements scattered along the Atlantic. His proposal to meet it by a joint effort of the Bourbon monarchs seemed merely to awaken the resentful pride of the fifth Philip's suspicious counsellors.[5] A century later Talleyrand and Napoleon, in a position to dictate the policy of the Latin world, planned a "wall of

[5] Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Francais . . .* IV, 482 ff., 539-575.

brass'' to check Anglo-American settlement, now advanced beyond the Alleghenies.[6] The foreign policy of the new Mexican government under Iturbide and the later reports of Alamán and Almonte touch upon the same danger now gathering with insistent force in Texas and threatening New Mexico and California.[7] But warning would not atone for weakness nor prophecy supply the lack of power. The Spanish-American, with or without the adventitious aid of the French, must yield the primacy of the American continent to the Anglo-American.

After the preliminary struggle involving the St. Lawrence Valley — the American Rhineland — and the upper Ohio, the next significant encounter for territorial supremacy occurred along the lower Mississippi, where we have already located the American Dacia. In 1773 a few scattered settlements around Fort Pitt and in the Watauga District represented the first Anglo-American contingent beyond the mountains. Thirty years later nearly half a million inhabitants, three commonwealths in the American Union, and four expanding territorial areas attest its growing importance, and disturb the Spaniards on the Gulf.[8] In these three decades the Anglo-Americans performed a folk-wandering that occupied their forbears in Europe nearly three centuries.

The Spaniard was already aroused to the defense of the Mississippi as his Roman prototype had been to that

[6] Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America*, I, 357.

[7] *Dictamen . . . por la Comision de Relaciones Exteriores*, Dec. 21, 1821; Mss. in Mexican Despatches, Bureau of Indexes and Archives; Alamán's memorial is in Mexican Despatches, III; see also George P. Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 27; Hermann E. Von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, III, 110; H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 113, and *History of California*, IV, chap. 16.

[8] Robertson, *op. cit.*, II, 326. Wilkinson, with his usual desire to make an impression on the Spaniards, exaggerates the number of American settlers. Cf. Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, IV, 214, 340.

of the Danube. For this purpose at the close of the Revolution he intrigued with the French to prevent the Anglo-American from claiming its eastern border or even floating upon its surface. It was not so much the uncertain strength of the confederated American states that he feared, as the uncontrollable western frontiersman "with the treaty of 1783 in one hand and a carbine in the other."[9] The national government was still in the experimental stage and its influence little felt beyond the mountains. But the frontiersman with whom the Spaniard had most to do was both unfettered and erratic in his movements. The American authorities might be satisfied with the navigation of the Mississippi and its fur trade, together with like privileges on the Mobile and the Missouri; the western people eagerly anticipated possession of the rich Mexican mines. It is no wonder, then, that their presence was a continual nightmare to the irascible Carondelet, and that he thus warned his superiors:

> To count on the oath, the good faith, the gratitude of these people, is a delusion. They have no other god than their own interest and recognize no other principle than independence. Their propensities, their language, their beliefs, and customs separate them from us. They will be our enemies from the instant they can do so with impunity and to their profit.[10]

Carondelet compared the Anglo-American migration to a flood of waters bursting from the containing dike. Forty thousand crossed the mountains in 1793 and this number was bound to increase. The characteristics of their vanguard terrified him even more than their numbers: "The wild desire of these men which increases in the presence of danger; their hardihood befitting those dwelling in forests and ever contending with wild beasts and with the Indians; and their aptitude as warriors, skilled in the use of the carbine, which never leaves their

[9] *Revista de los Archivos*, Sept.-Dec., 1914, 197.

[10] *Ibid.*, July-Aug., 1914, 85.

hands."[11] Aside from the weapon the description is worthy the *Germania* of Tacitus. A band of this sort, captained by the redoubtable Clark, "without storehouse or other object to aid them, bringing with them only rapine and pillage; without subordination, law, or obedience; without other object than their own free whim,"[12] was enough to arouse the Governor's liveliest apprehension.

The more regular elements of this population caused him equal alarm.

> Their method of spreading themselves and their policy are as much to be feared by Spain as are their arms. Every new settlement, when it reaches thirty thousand souls, forms a state, which is united to the United States, so far as regards mutual protection, but which governs itself and imposes its own laws. The wandering spirit and the ease, with which those people procure their sustenance and shelter, quickly form new settlements. A carbine and a little maize in a sack are enough for an American to wander about in the forests alone for a month. With his carbine, he kills the wild cattle and deer for food and defends himself from the savages. The maize dampened serves him in lieu of bread. With some tree trunks crossed one above another, in the shape of a square, he raises a house, and even a fort that is impregnable to the savages by crossing a story above the ground floor. The cold does not affright him. When a family tires of one location, it moves to another, and there it settles with the same ease. Thus in about eight years the settlement of Cumberland has been formed, which is now about to be created into a state.[13]

But mere epithets did not serve to check an unwelcome immigration of this sort. In the first flush of danger the desperate Spaniard resorted to Indian alliance and watched the barbarities of the ensuing frontier conflict as we may imagine the Roman viewed the unexpected intervention of the Huns. But he speedily found that the

[11] *Revista de los Archivos*, Sept.-Dec., 1914, 205.

[12] *Ibid.*, 200.

[13] Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 356.

Anglo-Americans could cajole, bribe, and threaten these savages as readily as he, and what was more to the purpose, overawe them, which the Spaniards never did. Accordingly, after the campaign of Wayne against the northern Indians he largely ceased to rely on their uncertain aid,[14] although, as usual, he never wholly gave over hope of enlisting it, nor omitted secret efforts to gain it.

Another possible but equally unreliable method pursued by the Spaniard was to admit a selected number of the Anglo-American immigrants on the assumption that by proper admixture with his own people they and their descendants would in turn form a redoubtable barrier against their former fellow-countrymen. The process suggests an attempt to erect a barrier of ice against the spring floods, but it had the merit of following the Roman practice of filling armies and manning estates with barbarian captives and mercenaries long before allowing a more extensive migration. The resulting intrigues with the Yazoo speculators or with possible immigrants from Kentucky and Tennessee[15] were cut off by the proclamations of Washington rather than by orders from the Council of the Indies. Anent their practice of enticing settlers Jefferson wrote to Washington, "I wish a hundred thousand of our inhabitants would accept the invitation. It may be the means of delivering to us peaceably what may otherwise cost a war." "In the meantime," added the crafty Secretary, "we may complain of this seduction of our inhabitants just enough to make them believe we think it a very wise policy for them and confirm them in it."[16]

[14] *Revista*, July-Aug., 1914, 83-94, *passim*.

[15] Miró to Sebastian, Sept. 16, 1789, copy in B. Randolph to Washington, May 31, 1790, Miscellaneous Letters, II, Bureau of Indexes and Archives; *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, III, 652, 653.

[16] Jefferson to Washington, April 2, 1791, Miscellaneous Letters, V, Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

Carondelet, and Gayoso who succeeded him, also found that the prospective settlers of this class were ready with promises to migrate, but exceedingly slow to come. They both gained the impression that the Anglo-Americans were playing with them, possibly from a desire to test the capacity of their coffers.[17] Yet for nearly a score of years they attempted to meet the stream of immigrants by a reverse stream of gold — or rather of Mexican silver. The talisman that drew their reluctant but substantial contribution was western separatism. Rome was once credited with the maxim, "divide and conquer." Why should not their imitators in the New World employ the same tactics? When once the possibility of separating the western communities from the eastern states was impressed upon Miró and the other Louisiana executives, they were reluctant to abandon it, although they never secured any adequate return for their liberal expenditures. Whether those who profited by their ill-judged largesses really cherished disunionist schemes or not, is immaterial. The Spaniards believed that they did and with typical Bourbon insistence for more than three decades frequently recurred to the idea.

In addition to Indian alliances, subsidized immigration, and western secession, the Spaniard was forced to supplement his inadequate resources by diplomacy. This was a factor that concerned the American authorities at Philadelphia rather than the backwoodsmen of the trans-Allegheny region, but even these two widely separated but representative groups of the new republic were likely to influence each other to the disadvantage of their common opponent. Washington might issue his proclamation against Yazoo claimants, French revolutionists, and would-be filibusters, but his secretary of state, Jefferson, sympathized with them and at times secretly abetted

[17] Gayoso to the Prince of the Peace, June 5, 1798, *sumamente reservado*, No. 20, Legajo 43. Mss. Papeles de Cuba Archivo General de Indies

their efforts. He was equally ready to encourage them openly when Spain's necessities promised a favorable result. At the same time his eagerness to obtain the Floridas, with the unquestioned right of navigating the Mississippi, led him to proffer a tempting bribe. In return for the desired cession on favorable terms he promised to guarantee the remaining possessions of Spain beyond the Mississippi.[18] In this fashion may we imagine ambitious barbarian chieftains intriguing with each other or bargaining with the Romans for a foothold on the far side of the Danube.

But with all Jefferson's finesse or his superior insistence, the American government was unable to gain more than its full claims under the Treaty of 1783, and not even so much until the Jay Treaty promised better relations with Great Britain. As a counterpoise, Godoy, in 1795, signed the Treaty of the Escorial, conceding the American claim to the Natchez region, the navigation of the Mississippi, and the necessary privilege of deposit at New Orleans.[19] Farther than this the Spanish favorite would not go. He must at all hazards hold the right bank of the American Danube and keep possible invaders from the actual littoral of the Gulf.

Even with these limitations Carondelet, Gayoso, and other harassed frontier officials were little pleased with a compromise that conceded so much. They had labored long, and apparently fruitlessly, with stubborn frontiersmen, inconstant Indians, and fickle subjects; and their policy, if random suggestion and feeble effort can be so designated, was to be discarded before it had been fairly tried. Under the circumstances they were ready to second the efforts of the home officials to frustrate the convention of 1795 as soon as the latter recovered from the momentary indecision caused by the Jay Treaty. Pre-

[18] W. R. Manning in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1904, 421.

[19] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 535-549.

texts were not lacking. The Blount Conspiracy threatened them with a combined Anglo-American invasion from Canada and from the Southwest.[20] The Kentucky conspirators once more experienced itching palms.[21] The Tennessee Yazoo Company planned to carry on commerce from Muscle Shoals to Mobile.[22] More menacing still, the transfer of Louisiana and the Floridas to France threatened to unsettle all recent treaties and undo the work of the Seven Years' War.

The last-named possibility aroused the apprehensions of the American frontiersmen, partly quieted by the treaty of 1795, and led them to contemplate new aggressions. At Natchez the astronomer Ellicott, delayed in his task of surveying the southern boundary, encouraged a bloodless insurrection among the Anglo-American settlers that swept away the last vestige of Spanish control in that settlement. This event should have warned the Spanish-Americans against alien immigration but it did not, as West Florida, Texas, and California were later to prove. Moreover, Ellicott claimed that he and his associates were prepared, upon the first outbreak of hostilities, to occupy New Orleans and all the Spanish holdings to the eastward.[23] The major part of the alien residents of this region were ready to throw off their nominal allegiance and welcome such intervention, with much the same spirit that led the subject population of the Roman Empire to welcome the Germanic invaders.

Possibly this fact helped to expedite the transfer of the threatened region to Napoleon. While many of the Spanish officials hardly welcomed the presence of the French legionaries, they were reconciled, like their pro-

[20] F. J. Turner in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, X, 273-275.

[21] *Supra*, note 17.

[22] "Documents Relating to Zachariah Cox," in *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, VIII, Nos. 2 and 3.

[23] Ellicott to secretary of state, Jan. 10, 1799, Ms. in "Ellicott and the Southern Boundary," Bureau of Rolls and Library, State Department.

totypes in ancient Italia or Hispania, to the cohorts of the modern Justinian if he promised to free them from a more dreaded invader. The frontiersman, so far as he was concerned, proposed, in true barbarian fashion, to take the affair into his own hands. The elder Daniel Clark offered to shoulder a musket and march with his whole family against New Orleans, upon a reasonable prospect of eating his Christmas dinner there with "Governor Wilkinson."[24] His nephew, who professed himself as ready to welcome a legion of devils as one of French troops, believed that the American general committed a fatal error in neglecting to accept his uncle's offer. After failing to get employment under the French, he made every possible shift to enroll American volunteers and, combining with Wilkinson's regulars, to seize New Orleans before Victor's anticipated arrival.[25]

During this period of international uncertainty the Spaniard did not feel more kindly disposed towards his restless neighbors. Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee formed a recruiting ground for "white Indians,"[26] whose vanguard of boisterous boatmen, now crowding into New Orleans, suggested the worst possibilities of river piracy. Natchez and Baton Rouge were equally terrorized by "vagabonds" of this class. "Alligator; Half man and half horse," the champion of one such group proudly proclaimed himself, when about to engage in vicious personal combat with a fellow of like lineage and character.[27] Unconsciously he represented the primitive fighting instinct that once animated the leaders of rival clans in the German forests. But his

[24] D. Clark to Wilkinson, Nov. 3, 1798. Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, II, 122.

[25] D. Clark Jr. to Wilkinson, April 13, 1803, *ibid.*, pp. 16; also in "Letters Received," War Department.

[26] Grand Pré to (Folch?), July 19, 1804. Ms. in Spanish Transcripts, Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.; J. A. Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives* . . . No. 4982.

[27] C. Schultz Jr., *Travels on an Inland Voyage* . . . II, 145.

drunken boasting did not thereby commend him to his chronicler nor to the Spanish officials.

Mingled with the swarm of boatmen were deserters, criminals, smugglers, and other vagabonds of equal degree, whose presence troubled the authorities on both sides of the line.[28] At the same time energetic traders, emissaries to the Indians, applicants for land grants, and others of still more uncertain but equally troublesome status aroused immediate anxiety, to say nothing of more gloomy forebodings for the future. Even the friendly advances of him who aspired to lead this motley horde partook of a mercenary suggestion. For a time the Spaniards lost faith in the former champions of western separatism, and this lack of confidence also extended to the administration in Philadelphia.[29]

The pacific tone that Jefferson at first assumed served as little to reassure the Spaniards as to quiet the frontiersmen, whatever its effect elsewhere. The prospective transfer of Louisiana to France soon caused the President to change that tone to one of vigorous protest. The action of Morales in closing the Mississippi to American commerce, apparently a necessary element in the same transfer, stimulated in still greater measure the predatory spirit of the Westerner. His legislative assemblies adopted belligerent resolutions, with which the Federalists attempted to fan the war flame. Wilkinson, Claiborne, and Clark schemed to preoccupy New Orleans, prevent Victor's troops from landing, or exterminate them if they should attempt it.[30] A correspondent from Natchez wished to know how long the western people would permit the "reptile Spaniards" to hamper their trade, while Jefferson dallied with the ceremonies

[28] *Mississippi Territorial Archives*, I, *passim*; Andrew Ellicott, *Journal . . .* 182.

[29] *Revista*, Jan.-Feb., 1915, 68.

[30] D. Clark to Wilkinson, April 13, 1803. Mss. "Letters Received," War Department.

of European diplomacy.[31] But it was precisely this dalliance that occupied Jefferson and his advisers, and in the due course of time he received a surprising reward. The capricious Napoleon offered to sell him the province of Louisiana.

This betrayal by Napoleon confirmed the worst fears of the Spaniards. Instead of showing himself the Theodosius or the Justinian of the modern Latin world, as they had once anticipated, the Corsican proved to be its Valens, exposing its inner provinces to the dreaded invader. But they were not yet ready wholly to forego control of the American Danube. By fortifying the Floridas, still rightfully theirs, and by threatening the new possessions of the Anglo-Americans from the rear, they hoped to defeat any disordered project to invade Mexico.[32] But after carefully considering their slender resources, they were reluctantly compelled to abandon any such plan of defense.

An alternative one seemed more promising — to exchange the Floridas for the territory west of the Mississippi. Even Monroe was at first in accord with this idea,[33] which was so acceptable to timorous Americans of provincial views. But from the banks of the Mississippi itself came Wilkinson's prediction that there could be no partnership in the navigation of that river, although from interested motives he tried to persuade the Spaniards to the contrary.[34] Breckenridge of Kentucky refused to limit the Goddess of Liberty to water courses.[35] The President himself wisely counseled patience. In keeping with his counsel, the United States came in due time to possess all — the Floridas, Louisiana, Texas, and

[31] Quoted by F. P. Goodwin, in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XVI, 330, from *Western Spy*, Mar. 2, 1803.

[32] Casa Yrujo to Cevallos, Aug. 3, 1803, Robertson, *op. cit.*, II, 69-77.

[33] Hamilton, *Writings of James Monroe*, IV, 24-26.

[34] See his "Reflections" published by Robertson, *op. cit.*, II, 325-347.

[35] *Annals of Congress*, 8th Cong., 1st Sess., 47.

the provinces beyond to the Pacific. To this imperialistic conception the Mississippi was a continual incentive, not a barrier. No one who has watched a sunset from the bluffs at Natchez will doubt its lure as a highway into the unknown West.

As on the old Danubian frontier, the alien invaders introduced themselves into this region by scarcely perceptible stages. Before the American Revolution the presence of arms, ammunition, and articles of British manufacture among the Texas Indians attracted the attention of the Spanish authorities.[36] That contest aroused fears of an invasion of political ideals still more dreaded. In the last two decades of the eighteenth century American pioneers began to line the banks of the Red and Washita, and, if we may believe churchly report, to encourage their robust sons by the prediction, "You, my boy, will be the one to go to Mexico."[37] Adventurous traders, of whom Philip Nolan was easily chief, roamed through Texas and the neighboring provinces in search of military data as well as mustangs, and Jefferson himself took an interest in their varied stock of wilderness lore.[38] At times, as in Nolan's case, these traders met the fate of the too-hardy adventurer, but an occasional death did not apparently diminish their number, nor daunt their ambition. Upper Louisiana equally attracted them. Its fur trade was largely in the hands of Canadians. Moses Austin — another suggestive name — was developing its lead mines. The settlement of Daniel Boone and his companions marked an outpost on the road to Santa Fé, where foreign intruders were even then presenting a serious problem.[39]

[36] H. E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, I, 76.

[37] Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, IV, 407, 408.

[38] Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, X, 55-58.

[39] *Ibid.*, XII, 31; Isaac J. Cox, *Early Exploration of Louisiana* 116-119.

The position of the Spanish colonial authorities, confronted by this modern folk-wandering, bears some slight resemblance to that of the later Roman emperors. The captain-general at Havana, like his Byzantine prototype, was the first to encounter the threatening irruption. The fears of his western colleague, the Mexican viceroy, gave little hope of adequate aid from that source. The question of defense was rendered more difficult by the unexpected and unfounded claim of the United States to West Florida. Possessing a limited diplomatic tradition only, Jefferson and his advisers pushed this claim with persistence and skill, but were not unscrupulous enough in overt act to insure success.

This element the irresponsible frontiersmen abundantly supplied. In ever-increasing numbers they were pursuing the pathway to the Southwest. The Mississippi boatmen, Folch's "white Indians," returning overland by scores from New Orleans, aroused great concern in the Spanish commandant at Baton Rouge. Emigrants from Tennessee, the Carolinas, and Georgia passed through Mobile in a ceaseless stream to New Orleans and westward.[40] With their slender, ill-equipped garrisons Grand Pré and Folch could but watch the motley procession and wonder apprehensively when it would sweep them out of its pathway. Meanwhile the Callers, Kempers, and Kennedys confirmed their worst fears by threats of invasion or by actual attempts that the United States did little to check.[41]

At intervals the Spaniards permitted a restricted commerce on the Mobile and anon attempted to prevent

[40] Folch to Someruelos, Aug. 31, 1809. Mss. Cuban Papers, Legajo, 1567.

[41] The manuscript "Claiborne Correspondence" in the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss., partly duplicated in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, and the letters of Judge Harry Toulmin to Madison in the Madison Papers, Library of Congress, give in detail the events along the Florida frontier.

it. Criminals, deserters, and fugitive slaves formed an unwelcome addition to the population of the Floridas, that was matched by like fugitives from their territory within American lines. The harassed Spaniards protested alike against Jefferson's claim to West Florida and his attempt to apply the embargo to the region. They complained of the expense of the Indian trade, but encouraged the Indians, as possible allies, to resort to Mobile and Pensacola. They viewed incoming Americans with suspicion, and narrowly watched their subjects of French extraction. They gave concession after concession to popular discontent, but believed themselves powerless to prevent its ripening into insurrection because of American encouragement. And finally, after intrigue, insurrection, and open invasion had done its worst, they saw themselves obliged to yield the Floridas to their all-powerful neighbors, without gaining Louisiana in exchange.

Farther west they were likewise pursuing a losing fight. The Texas border area presented the same set of problems as Florida. The Anglo-American rush into Louisiana after 1803 speedily filled up the city of New Orleans to repletion and disturbed everywhere the bucolic simplicity of Creole life.[42] Nor did the Louisiana habitants regard this invasion as less barbarous because many of its reputed leaders introduced the perplexities of American litigation to bolster up their unconscionable land grabs. The pretensions of this new population inevitably bred a rivalry that long disturbed local politics.

It was not this problem that worried the frontier commanders of Texas and their superiors, but the fact that the American government put forward pretensions to the province and encouraged the recent arrivals in Louisiana to regard it as their next acquisition. The

[42] Isaac J. Cox, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 1-42, 140-187.

swarm of traders, smugglers, squatters, and Indian hunters — the vanguard of a speedy advance — reached the border as soon as the new Anglo-American garrisons. Hard in their wake came the more substantial settlers to hold firmly what these pioneers had gained and to make good their toast, "The ancient boundaries of Louisiana — republics never contract their limits."[43] The long-dreaded frontiersmen clamored at the very gates of the Interior Provinces. In addition Lewis and Clark were leading an exploring expedition up the Missouri on their way to the Pacific. William Dunbar and George Hunter were to direct another up the Red.[44] The frontier authorities had already set their guards in motion to intercept these intruders and to reoccupy earlier Spanish presidial stations, when rumor of Burr's projects threatened the realization of their worst forebodings.

As ex-vice-president of the United States, Aaron Burr wielded little political power. An indicted refugee from New York, pursued by Jefferson's enmity, bankrupt, with no immediate prospect of recovering personal or political fortune, he should naturally have caused the Spanish authorities little concern; but they persisted in magnifying his power to harm them. A remarkable personal magnetism offset by an air of inscrutable mystery, vague hints of stupendous enterprises, skilful appeals to youthful ambition, guarded offers of exalted station — all of these rendered him an object of distrust to possible enemies. Moreover, he was a close personal friend of the commander of the American army and likely to become influential in the newer West, whose shifting population was ever ready to take up arms against the Spaniard. These last-named factors gave the so-called Burr Conspiracy its real significance.[45]

[43] Walter F. McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 112.

[44] Cox, *Early Exploration of Louisiana*, chaps. 2 and 9.

[45] McCaleb, *op. cit.*, gives the best account of the Burr Conspiracy. Miss Leslie Henshaw edits some additional documents of importance in the

In the latter part of 1806 the western stage was set for the picturesque drama in which he was to play the leading, but still undetermined part. On the Texas frontier a few Spanish regulars and hastily collected battalions of provincial militia confronted like forces of Anglo-Americans, whom they regarded as the forerunners of Burr's myriads. At Baton Rouge, Folch and Grand Pré awaited the initial attack. From St. Louis Pike was pursuing the trail to Santa Fé, obviously on some mission connected with Burr's plan. That conspirator himself, after fruitless conferences with the British and Spanish ministers, was about to journey westward, evidently to set in train some alluring enterprise. The clash between Anglo-American and Spanish-American seemed inevitable, with Burr ready to essay in Mexico the character of Alaric or of Theodoric as fortune should determine.

That the clash was delayed for forty years was largely due to the craftiness of Burr's associate, Gen James Wilkinson. Assuming the rôle of the Vanda Stilicho, he used his influence and the slender regular army under his command to overthrow the irregular invasion which his promptings had fostered. Nor in the matter of reward did he forget the practice of his barbarian prototype. The betrayal of his colleague was likely to be his last service for the Spaniards and he was determined to make it lucrative. Fortunately the Viceroy had lost faith in his efficiency as well as his integrity and refused to honor his shameless attempt at blackmail. Neither did his brief period of martial rule in New Orleans commend him to the American authorities, nor his Neutral Ground Agreement restore peace to the troubled frontier.

In addition to his contemplated invasion of Mexic

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Burr may have considered an appeal to western separatism; but we shall not discuss this phase of his activity. Suffice it to say that he was an opportunist; yet as he floated down the Mississippi, attended only by a few score of boatmen instead of ten thousand armed riflemen, his opportunities seemed slight indeed. But they were enough to render his presence on the Washita or on the Tombigbee equally disquieting to Americans or Spaniards. While his arrest enabled both to breathe more freely, the name "Burrites" long served to characterize any suspicious group of western frontiersmen.

The peril thus narrowly averted became imminent when Napoleon's intervention in Spain divided the Latin peoples in Europe and threw the Spanish dependencies upon their own resources. Forced to organize against possible French agents, they used the power thus gained to break loose from the Mother Country. The United States took more than casual interest in this movement that seemed in so many ways to resemble its own earlier contest for independence.[46]

Traders started for Santa Fé, filibusters poured into Texas, pirates coursed the Gulf, slave traders infested the Louisiana bayous, while their confederates in New Orleans reaped a harvest of ill-gotten gain. In these years, if ever, might the Spanish colonial authorities say with truth that they were confronted by barbarism, and the most crassly material form of barbarism at that. Though proclaiming liberty and the rights of man, even such magic terms could not sanctify the deeds of these motley renegades.[47]

When in the due course of events Mexico and her sister colonies became independent, her chief heritage

[46] Isaac J. Cox, "The Pan-American Policy of Jefferson and Wilkinson," in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, I, 212-239.

[47] Four manuscript volumes of "Notas Diplomaticas" from the *Archivo General*, Mexico City, contain much of importance for the Louisiana-Texas frontier during the decade, 1810-20.

from the Spanish monarchy was a distrust of Anglo-American commercial views and territorial claims.[48] In spite of this feeling her new rulers opened Texas to Austin and his fellow-empresarios, thus disregarding recent history and shutting their eyes to the fate that befell their forbears in Spain, Gaul, and Italy. Possibly, as in that case, they could do nothing else, once the vanguard of their opponents had crossed the American Danube.

In modest numbers, indeed, Austin and his associates introduced their pioneer quotas. The vast majority of them were actual settlers, not refugees or riffraff, but they belonged to that same stock that had hitherto caused the Spaniards untold anxiety. They aroused no less concern among the Mexicans. With bad grace these immigrants tolerated the municipal régime in place of the familiar county system. They accepted the munificent land grants of the southern republic, but refused to pay its customs duties, or other legal fees. Joined in political organization with neighboring Coahuila, they aimed at separate statehood. Living under a civil code as old as Rome itself, they really practiced, as far as they observed legal procedure at all, the customary law of their Germanic ancestors. In a country that preferred the peonage system, they forced the toleration of African slavery. On their advent professing the Catholic faith, they encouraged itinerant Protestant preachers or lived without religious instruction. In short, there was no union between Mexican and American but a forced one, for each cherished inherited prejudices too strongly to admit the good points of the other.[49]

[48] Cf. Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 1909-10, 211, note 21.

[49] G. P. Garrison, *Texas: a Contest of Civilizations, passim*, and the articles by E. C. Barker in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are especially suggestive for the events mentioned in this and the two succeeding paragraphs.

The inevitable outbreak was not long delayed. The skirmish in Edwards' colony, known as the Fredonian War, aroused the Mexicans to the danger within their borders. In connection with the expressed desire of the American government to buy Texas, it led Lucas Alamán, the secretary of foreign relations in 1830, to review the process by which the United States acquired territory and to suggest certain changes in the colonization laws that would save Texas to the Mexican Republic. But the awakening was too late and not followed with energy. In fact, during this period and previous to the war with the United States, the struggle for supremacy among self-appointed Mexican leaders bears more than a fancied resemblance to the contests for the Roman purple during the concluding days of the empire, and equally hampered all effort to meet the invading Anglo-Americans.

The outbreak of hostilities in 1835 not only brought the embattled Texan into conflict with the Mexican, but started a sympathetic movement throughout the whole Mississippi Valley. Men publicly enlisted in the cause, amid the plaudits of their admiring womenfolk, nor did the authorities display aught but indifference or willful blindness. Then flocked into Texas by hundreds the same class of men that had threatened to force the Mississippi and the Mobile, or had followed Jackson in his Florida campaigns. With their aid the result was a foregone conclusion. San Jacinto was the western Soissons, with Sam Houston as first of a brief but distinguished line of modern Merovingians.

The independence of Texas and its subsequent annexation to the United States did not close this chapter of folk-wandering, granted that it is closed even now. New Mexico and California lay beyond in regular succession. The unsettled Texas boundary afforded a pretext for aggression. With the first summons to arms in 1846 the population of the great West was in motion, just

as it had been forty years before on a similar occasion. This time there was no Neutral Ground Agreement to stay its onward course. Santa Fé, and the coast of Upper California; Chihuahua, Monterey, and the North Mexican States; Vera Cruz and the Valley of Mexico — these were the prizes that the forces of Kearny, Taylor, and Scott, largely volunteers from the Mississippi Valley, quickly found within their grasp. Unjust and causeless some characterize this war; but its campaigns recall the earlier barbarian onslaughts upon the degenerate defenders of the Roman Empire, and in audacity rival the exploits of Cortez.

From another aspect the invasion is less creditable to Anglo-American arms. Witness the following excerpt from Santa Anna's correspondence, suggesting the plaint of Augustine over the ruin wrought upon the Roman world, and not unfamiliar to our more sensitive modern ear:

> I have with pain and indignation, received communications from the cities and towns occupied by the army of your excellency, upon the violations of temples consecrated to the worship of God; upon the robbery of the sacred vessels, and profanation of the images, venerated by the Mexican people. I have been profoundly afflicted by the complaints of fathers and husbands upon the violation of their wives and daughters. Those same cities and towns have been sacked, not only in violation of the armistice, but even of the sacred principles recognized and observed by civilized nations. I have guarded silence until now, for the purpose of not chilling a negotiation that gave hopes of terminating a scandalous war, which your excellency has justly characterized as unnatural.[50]

Possibly the Mexican dictator was seeking pretexts to break off negotiation with Scott but, unfortunately for the reputation of the American army of that day, there is much evidence from friendly sources to confirm his charges. The American volunteer in 1846 sustained

[50] A. A. Livermore, *The War with Mexico Reviewed*, 155.

the reputation of Jackson's militiamen. Many of the heinous acts charged against him were undertaken in the spirit of retaliation; but so has the pioneer ever justified his course. It was the volunteer, and especially the volunteer from the Texas border, influenced by memories of the Alamo and Goliad, and by more recent border raids, who was all too ready to wreak vengeance upon his treacherous, but pitifully helpless opponent. On the other hand the American forces as a whole cleaned up and policed the Mexican cities, fed the starving population, repressed brigandage and guerrilla warfare, established a provisional government, and in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided for future arbitration of differences between the two countries. Even if the millions paid then and later to the distressed foe only partially atone for Mexico's ravished possessions, it was the aggressive Polk who preserved her from complete absorption. In this way he and his successors saved an alien people from the elements of destruction within itself.

In this hurried but far too-lengthy comparison we have doubtless introduced much that seems purely fanciful, but may we for a brief moment trespass still farther upon your patience. The so-called fall of the Roman Empire was really a struggle between two groups of barbarians for supremacy. The members of one group had entered measurably into the fullness of the life they appeared to supplant and were its real defenders against their less-cultured fellows. Have we as Anglo-Americans yet developed a corresponding group to protect and preserve what is best in the life, culture, and traditions of our Latin-American neighbors? On the other hand a recent essayist has declared that the Roman mind could never appreciate the spiritual side of life. In like manner did the Spaniards of the early nineteenth century — calling themselves the Romans of the modern world —

and their Mexican successors fail to appreciate the real virtues of the Anglo-American pioneer. In this failure to appreciate their antagonists, as well as to fear or despise them, both peoples have been equally remiss. But is this mutual misunderstanding to continue indefinitely? *Quien sabe?*

A NOTE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE OLDEST SCHOOL FOR GIRLS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

By Caroline Francis Richardson

We hear a great deal today about the preparation of teachers. Longer grow the years of apprenticeship and more rigid become the scholastic requirements. Competition waxes keen and sometimes only an ability to "produce" will assure success. The preparation of the first teachers of the oldest school for girls in the Mississippi Valley was not, perhaps, strictly in accord with twentieth-century demands, but it was comprehensive, resourceful, and efficient to an unusual degree. The ten Ursuline Sisters who reached New Orleans on Aug. 7, 1727, were equipped with religious zeal, physical courage, mental alertness, executive ability, and a sense of humor. These are admirable foundation qualities on which to build an educational institution.

We know of the existence of these qualities, as we know of many historical facts, through the written records of the two Sisters who did "produce." Reverend Mother Tranchepain[1] and her secretary, Madeleine Hachard,[2] wrote letters that give the details of the preparation and the leave-taking in France, of the long hazardous journey, of their first impression of the Louisiana colony, and of the beginnings of the school. Accessible information of the establishment of the Ursulines in New Orleans may be found in the treaty made by the *Compagnie*

[1] *Relation du Voyage des Premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orléans . . .*

[2] Gabriel Gravier (ed.), *Relation du voyage des dames Religieuses Ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle Orléans.*

des Indes with the Ursulines,[3] in the *Brevet*[4] of Louis XV, in the letters and journals of those nearly contemporary travelers and historians, Charlevoix[5] and Bossu,[6] and, of course, in the work of later Louisiana historians;[7] but colorful, intimate knowledge is gained from the writings of the two women who "produced."

For the coming of the Ursulines Bienville may receive the major share of credit. Now Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville was a gentleman, soldier, high adventurer, and practical executive. It was this last quality that made him realize after close association with the projected schemes and the romantic experiments in connection with the development of the lower Mississippi, that certain things were needful if New Orleans was to endure and to expand. Among these things were a hospital and a school for girls. The first was obligatory because of the fevers that were a concomitant of the amphibious nature of the city, and the wounds that were the result of legitimate warfare or personal dispute. The second was desirable because the daughters of respectable families must be educated, and orphans should be cared for. Competent and devoted service were necessary for both enterprises and such service was to be found in completeness among the women of religious orders. Bienville's first efforts were directed toward the *Soeurs Grises* of his native Canada. Unsuccessful, he applied, by the advice of Father Beaubois (the lately arrived Superior of the Jesuits) to the Ursulines of Rouen. There Bienville found ready sympathy and ardent enthusiasm.

[3] Henry Reñshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," in Louisiana Historical Society, *Publications*, II, pt. 4, 22-36; B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, III, 80.

[4] Reñshaw, *op. cit.*, 61.

[5] P. F. X. Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France* . . .

[6] N. Bossu, *Nouveaux voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, Ier partie, 28.

[7] Ficklen, Fortier, Gayarré, King, Martin, etc. To any records in the Ursuline Convent of New Orleans I have not had access.

The arrangements for the journey and for the subsequent work of the Sisters were prosaically practical. There was no romantic declaration of intentions, no picturesque vagueness about future obligations or recompense. Bienville laid his project before the *Compagnie des Indes*. That corporation was of variable efficiency and spectacular imagination. But its treaty with the Ursulines shows only a businesslike determination to get a good deal for its money, and by means of twenty-eight articles all duties and privileges are clearly defined. The privileges included passage money, an allowance of 600 livres annually for each nun and for each of the eight servants who were permitted to accompany the religious, a building to be constructed especially for the Ursulines, and the payment of a return-passage for any nun and her servant. The pension of such a one would cease with her departure from New Orleans; and all pensions would cease as soon as the convent should begin to enjoy a revenue from the work of the Sisters and from the plantation which would be given them. The duties of the Sisters concerned first of all the hospital. We today are accustomed to think of the educational work of those pioneer teachers as being the real reason for the assistance given them by the *Compagnie des Indes*. But a reading of the treaty offers another point of view. In the preamble to the articles there is a statement that in addition to the care of the *pauvres malades*, the Company desires at the same time to provide for the education of young girls, and in article six is the request that the Superior will appoint a religious to hold a school for girls, and in article twenty-four we read that when circumstances shall warrant it, the Sisters shall receive boarding pupils. But there is an insistent proviso that those in charge of the sick shall not be detached from their service in the hospital. Of the twenty-eight articles, then, only two deal directly with the education of girls.

With all the requirements and conditions of the treaty the Sisters seem to have been satisfied, and the contract was concluded Sept. 13, 1726.[8] Thanks to the interest of Cardinal Fleury, the personal approval of Louis XV was secured, and in a *Brevet*[9] he gives his sanction to the intention of certain Ursulines to go to Louisiana and to charge themselves with the care of the hospital and at the same time to direct the education of young girls. This *Brevet* overruled various objections which were raised against the venture, and on Jan. 12, 1727, those assigned to the Louisiana mission assembled in the infirmary of the Ursulines at Hennebon, Brittany, and acknowledged the authority of Sister Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin. On Feb. 23, 1727, the Ursulines,[10] their servants, and two priests[11] set sail in the "Gironde."

The voyage was of five months' duration and no day of that time seems to have been uneventful. There were pirates, there were storms, there was a scarcity of food and drink, there were cannibal islands, and always, always, there was seasickness.[12] When the Balize, at the mouth of the Mississippi, was reached, the travelers still had a long trip of seven days before them, which they spent in pirogues. These dugouts were piled high with

[8] Reñshaw, *op cit.*; "Traité de la Compagnie des Indes avec les Ursulines," Registre des Comptes des Indes, Tome 2, Au Depot des chartes et archives de la marine; French, *op. cit.*, III, 80.

[9] Reñshaw, *op. cit.*, 61.

[10] Soeur Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin (Mother Superior); Soeur Marguerite Judde de St. Jean l'Evangelite, professe de la Communauté de Rouen; Soeur Marianne Boulanger de St. Angelique de Rouen; Soeur Magdaleine de Mahieu de St. François de Xavier, professe de la Communauté du Havre; Renée Quiquel de Ste. Marie, professe de Vanne; Soeur Marguerite de Salaon de Ste. Therese de Ploemel; Soeur Cecile Cavalier de St. Joseph, professe de la Communauté d'Elboeuf; Soeur Marianne Dair de Ste. Marthe, professe de la Communauté de Hennebon; Soeur Madeline Hachard de St. Stanilas, Novice; Soeur Claude Massy, Seculière de Choeurs; Soeur Anne, Seculière converse.

[11] Père Tartarin, Père Doutreleau (Jesuit missionaries).

[12] Tranchepain: "Ce fut alors que chacun commença à payer le tribut à la mer."

luggage on which were perched uneasily the Sisters, the two priests, the servants, and a number of workmen whom the religious had sensibly brought with them. There were days of scorching August sun and torrential rain, there were nights on a land that was two parts water and a third part mosquitoes.[13] But always, too, there were, as the letters of Madame Tranchepain and her secretary show, courage and alert interest and gayety of heart.

When they reached the city, on Aug. 7, 1727, the Ursulines were conducted to Bienville's *hôtel* which was to serve them as a temporary home. But it was Perier who welcomed them, not Bienville, for he had returned to France to answer charges brought against his management of the colony.

The newcomers found their work waiting for them. The hospital service was impossible for a time because the residence assigned to the nuns until their own should be built was at the end of town farthest from the *pauvres malades*. But there were, Madeleine Hachard writes her father, more than thirty girls asking to be received as boarders;[14] and many negresses and savages came every day from one to half-past two o'clock[15] to be taught something of religion and what we should call the rudiments of domestic science. At once, too, the Sisters took into their home a little orphan whom they found in undesirable surroundings. And all this long before their convent was built. True, it was promised. Governor Perier not only assured the community that it should be built at once, but he had ready the plans all drawn up in proper form. Fortunately the religious did not know that seven years would pass before those plans would be utilized.

[13] Madeleine refers to the mosquitoes as *Messieurs les Maringouins* and *Frappe d'abords*.

[14] Gravier, *op. cit.*, 79.

[15] *Ibid.*, 85.

In a letter dated April 24, 1728 — only eight months after the arrival of the Ursulines — Madeleine writes her father that the nuns have twenty boarders, of whom eight had that day made their first communion, three ladies who lived at the convent as boarders, three orphans who were kept out of charity, seven slaves whom the Sisters were preparing for baptism and the first communion, a great number of day pupils, and many negresses and savages who came to the convent for instruction two hours each day.[16] She mentions that no money is taken for teaching the day pupils and that the natives do all in their power to show appreciation. Soon after their arrival the Ursulines had been asked to do something for the lowest class of women colonists,[17] and Madeleine points out that within a few months the religious found themselves carrying on the functions of four different communities: that of Ursulines; that of nurses for the sick; that of St. Joseph; and that of a refuge.[18] Furthermore, the *Filles-à-la-cassette* who came with a guarantee of respectability and a dowry provided by the Company were given into the care of the nuns during the very brief interval between the arrival and the marriage of these most desirable colonists. And the children orphaned by the Natchez massacre in 1729 were brought to New Orleans and placed in the Ursuline Convent, the Company paying for their maintenance. A modern university with its colleges and departments could hardly offer more of varied opportunity.

The hospital service had been undertaken as soon as the Ursulines moved from Bienville's hôtel. The date is not known but the removal must have occurred previous to Madeleine Hachard's letter of April 24, 1728, in which she speaks of caring for the sick. The educational work

[16] Gravier, *op. cit.*, 97, 98.

[17] *Ibid.*, 84, 85.

[18] *Ibid.*, 86.

however, having the start, as it were, of the other responsibilities, remained the most noteworthy. Charlevoix says that the work of a school and a hospital were combined because the Company thought it unwise to multiply establishments "dans une Colonie, qui commençoit à peine à se former."[19] Bossu, in mentioning the presence of the Ursulines in New Orleans, refers first to their school, next to their care of orphans, and then adds: "Ces mémes Religieuses furent chargées du soin de l'hopital militaire."[20] Evidently the school loomed large. But the hospital service once begun was faithfully performed until the Ursulines were released from that duty by papal dispensation in 1770.

But it is not only of definite effort and achievement that we receive information from the letters of the Mother Superior and her secretary. These were women of keen observation and broad common sense. The trees, the flowers, the food and how to cook it, the mosquitoes — again and again, the mosquitoes — are described and explained and compared with a distinctness that any teacher will long to imitate. And so it is after alluding to the prodigal display of velvets, of paint, and of patches affected by the great ladies of New Orleans that the writer adds that she realizes that to the same bedizened personages the Ursulines owe much of their immediate success, for from the beginning they have been treated with deepest respect by the "principaux."[21] In another letter a description of the strange beauty of Louisiana is followed by a matter-of-fact assertion that the real wealth of the country lies in its natural resources, not in gold or silver mines.[22] We learn, too, that the negresses are easy to teach as soon as they have learned French;[23] but

[19] Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, IV, 239.
[20] Bossu, *op. cit.*, Ier partie, 28.
[21] Gravier, *op. cit.*, 90, 91.
[22] *Ibid.*, 34.
[23] *Ibid.*, 91.

there is an uncomfortable suspicion that the savages remain savage even after baptism.[24] And we are told that since the establishment of the Ursulines no girl in the colony is permitted to marry until she has received instruction from the Sisters. This is an early instance of compulsory education.

Into the organization of the Mississippi Valley's first school for girls went many elements. Some were quite practical: The arrangements for the journey, the pensions granted, the promise of a home and plantation, all gave to the enterprise a solidity and permanence that must have been a welcome mundane support when the flesh showed signs of earthly weakness. Some elements were utilitarian: The *Compagnie des Indes* certainly intended to secure cheap and efficient hospital nurses who as a by-service would train and shelter the future wives of their colonists. Some elements were personal: The charm of wholesome individualities, the ability to see and to tell, the grace of style, are qualities difficult to define but undeniable in effect. Some elements were inspirational: The calm bearing in the face of realized danger, the strength that could cope with unheroic discomforts continuing through months, as well as with briefly dramatic proximity to pirates and shipwreck, the sincere and complete devotion to an ideal that called for unceasing progress and a constant vexation of spirit — all this awakens and excites and encourages.

Now the word *organization* denotes, in Coleridge's definition, a connection of parts in and for a whole, so that each part is, at once, end and means. If then such factors as preparedness, usefulness, personality, common sense, and inspiration be assembled and combined into working order, should they not by law reproduce themselves? It is but twelve years less than two hundred

[24] Gravier, *op. cit.*, 92.

years since the organization of the first school for girls in the Mississippi Valley — a sufficient time, one would think, for testing and valuation. Those who teach the girls of the mid-United States today may plan and execute with serenity. They build upon a rock.

THE BLACK CODE

By James J. McLoughlin

From time immemorial, dating back to Biblical days, there have been codes of laws or regulations whereby inferiors were governed.

The ancient Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, all the nations of antiquity who held slaves or servants or subject races under them, prescribed certain rules governing the status and conduct of these subjects or slaves.

It is not my purpose here to pursue the subject of the codes of Greece and Rome, nor to trace their history or influence down to our own time. Rather will I treat of the Black Code as it existed in Louisiana, and review briefly the history of the legislation which resulted in the enactment of that code.

When America was discovered Columbus had as one of his companions in one of his early voyages the great "Apostle to the Indies," Las Casas, who came over seeking profit and adventure in the New World.

It was the custom of the Spanish king to grant to these adventurers, upon conditions, large tracts of land in the new country, including with the land the natives inhabiting the same, who were treated and exploited by the grantee as his slaves.

Under a grant of this kind Las Casas came to America, and began his career in that line. His nature, however, revolted against the great cruelties that were practiced upon the Indians. His temperament led him into religious life and he became attached to one of the monastic orders.

His inclinations to fair dealing with the Americans, coupled with his natural aversion to the savage cruelty that often characterized the Spanish rule of the natives, led him to have the king adopt certain rules and regulations for the amelioration of their law. This was really the beginning of the code in America, which later grew into the Black Code of Louisiana.

It was soon discovered, however, and perhaps through Las Casas' influence it was made apparent, that the Indian was not by nature a docile slave. Consequently, other labor was sought and encouraged by English traders, who were the great leaders of the slave trade in those days. African slaves began to be imported into the West Indies, and they soon replaced the less tractable Indian.

These Africans being brought over in great numbers, their presence required certain regulations, certain control on the part of the government. Colonies of France and Spain in the Indies becoming numerously populated with them, the first succinct or legal code for the governing of the slaves in America was enacted by Louis XIV, Mar. 16, 1685; this was called the "Code Noir."

Like all French government decrees, it was minute and entered into the very details of daily life. It contained sixty articles. Reflecting the strong religious sentiment of the age, it first provided for the religious instruction of the slave. Its first article enjoined all the king's officers in the colonies to expel from their dominions within three months from the publication of the Code, all Jews found there. It proceeded to require that all slaves should be baptized and instructed in the Catholic faith; forbade any religion among the slaves other than the Catholic; and forbade any but Catholic overseers or officials to be placed in charge or control of negroes.

It forbade any one, master or official, to interfere with the practice of their religion by the slaves; it en-

joined the observance of Sundays and holidays; forbade the masters to work their slaves on those days in any field work or any heavy labor. It went on at great length to prescribe the food and clothing to be given to the slaves, and provided for the support of the aged and infirm by their masters; it provided for the care of the sick; and, in general, enjoined, under severe penalties, good treatment of the slave by the master.

It enacted that slaves had no civil rights but belonged absolutely, in themselves and in all that they might acquire, exclusively to their masters; decreed that they had no standing in any civil court; in fact they were as much under the control of their masters as if they were beasts of the field, subject, of course, to the articles of the Code which recognized their religious rights, and provided for their proper care and maintenance.

Much of the Code is devoted to the method of punishing slaves for offenses. These offenses were subdivided under many heads. The most serious offense, of course, that a slave could commit was to strike his master or a member of the master's family, and if he did so causing an abrasion of the skin or effusion of blood, he would suffer death. Larceny by the slave was not considered a very heinous offense, and was punished with ordinary penalties.

This Code became the law of the French colonies immediately upon its promulgation and was followed at intervals by other decrees supplementing its provisions. For example, in 1736 Louis XV issued a decree regulating the baptism and emancipation of slaves. In 1742 a decree was issued relative to the slave trade, then quite an important branch of commerce.[1]

The Compagnie des Indes Occidental was established

[1] The Code and these additional decrees are found in *Recueils d Reglemens . . . avec "Le Code Noir,"* printed at Paris, 1765, by "Les Libraires Associes"; *"Le Code Noir,"* printed by Prault, Paris 1767.

by royal decree, May 28, 1664, and granted exemptions and privileges by other decrees in the same year; these were followed by others in 1671, 1674, and later years, to the company, which practically controlled all the colonies of France in tropical America and thereabouts, and the provisions of the Black Code were enforced throughout its dominions.

Louisiana being a portion of the colonies of France, of course, fell under the provisions of the Black Code. Bienville, the founder of Louisiana, promulgated a Black Code here. It was a compilation of all the legislation applicable to slaves at that time, and was substantially the same as the Code and the amendments proclaimed by Louis XIV and his successors.[2]

The Spanish governor, O'Reilly, made little or no changes in this Code. On June 1, 1795, Baron Carondelet, then Spanish governor of Louisiana, promulgated a short regulation dealing with "Police of Slaves" which may be called a miniature Black Code, and which was inspired by the bloody uprisings in San Domingo. The provisions of the Carondelet regulation were simply an amplification or extension of some of the provisions of the old Bienville Code.

In 1806, three years after the annexation of Louisiana to the United States, the territorial legislature enacted the famous Black Code of Louisiana, which remained in force, with some slight amendments, until slavery was abolished during the Civil War. The Code is divided into two parts: The first part relates to the duties of masters to slaves, and the privileges of the slaves; the second part relates to the crimes and offenses of slaves.

The first part, for instance, enacts that children under ten years of age are not to be sold apart from their

[2] For English translations of Bienville's Code see Alcée Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, I, 87ff.; and B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, pt. III.

mothers; that slaves must have due respect for white people; that they are not to carry arms; that no liquors are to be sold to slaves; that they are not to ride on horseback; or to leave home, without a permit; that they are to hold no property; prescribes how they are to be fed and clothed, and various other details that look more like the by-laws of a Ladies' Aid Society than the legislation of a sovereign state.

The second part of the Code, covering crimes and offenses, prescribes that slaves charged with a capital offense shall be tried by a judge and three to five freeholders; that the judgment of this court shall be final; and when a slave is condemned to death and executed, the master is to be compensated, and the compensation is to be paid by an assessment on the slave-owners in the district where the slave lived. Masters were punished for willfully killing or inflicting cruel punishment on a slave. Planters were required to have white or free colored overseers on their plantations, and various other similar petty details were provided.

Among the capital crimes were murder; burning any crop or building; poisoning or attempting to poison any person; assault or attempted assault on a white woman striking master or mistress or children of master, to the extent of an abrasion or drawing of blood; and inciting an insurrection. One of the articles provided that any slave disclosing a plot of other slaves for an insurrection or uprising should be granted his freedom.

This Black Code of 1806 was amended in minor details by several acts until, in 1846, some material changes were made, particularly in the method of slave trials.[3]

They were made more formal. In capital offenses the district attorney was to prosecute; the trial was to be by a jury composed of two justices of the peace and ten slave owners. One justice and nine jurors consti

[3] By Act 137, session of 1846.

tuted a quorum, and a unanimous verdict was required, and an appeal was permitted.

In the trial of cases other than capital, one justice and two slave owners were all that were required and the district attorney was not called upon to be a party to the proceeding. Affidavits were required in advance of trial, which was quite different from the old code of 1806 where none was required.

In 1855 a new Black Code was enacted by the legislature,[4] which was quite extensive and embraced everything that was proper to be continued from the old codes, in addition to considerable new matter. It was a very comprehensive measure but, fortunately or unfortunately, the supreme court declared it unconstitutional, thus wiping it off the statute list.[5]

Reading over all these various Black Codes of France, Spain, and Louisiana, one may well agree with our great jurisconsult, Alfred Hennen, who, in his digest, lays down this maxim: "A slave's best protection was his value, and the damage due to his master for injuries inflicted upon him." Slaves were property, treated as such, and as such were of so much value to their owners that it was to the interest of the owner to see that they were properly treated and cared for.

In this short review of the history of the Black Code I have not attempted to review the innumerable city ordinances enacted in New Orleans and other towns of this State, dealing with various phases of slave life. Beginning with the code or digest of city ordinances published by John Renard, the city printer of New Orleans in 1808, we find numerous ordinances relating to slaves; they deal with such privileges as forbidding any slaves to attend wakes unless they were relatives of the deceased slave; they regulate slave gatherings; regulate the keep-

[4] Act 308, session of 1855.

[5] Case of State v. Harrison, 11 An., 722.

ing of runaway slaves; regulate driving of vehicles by slaves; compel slaves to wear a badge when they were hired out, together with many other provisions regarding their daily life and occupation.

The Black Code died with slavery. It is but a shadowy relic of the Past that will never again become a Present. Yet those still living who can remember the days of slavery agree that a Black Code was necessary to regulate the social life of the South in those days. In its provisions relating to the treatment of slaves it was, in the main, kind and considerate; and in many respects less harsh than were the provisions of the famous Blue Laws of Connecticut, wherein it was sought to control the daily life of those fortunate or unfortunate enough to live under their jurisdiction, and particularly in the provisions of the Blue Laws concerning people who were not of the "elect."

Even today we have echoes of the times of the Black Code, in our Jim Crow laws, in our separate street cars for the two races, in the laws passed here and there in the various cities of the country, for segregating negroes, and in legislation providing separate schools for the blacks and the whites, and forbidding intermarriage of the races.

In fact, the Black Code was simply an expression of an innate necessity of nature to keep the races pure, and in that respect it was a benefit to both. And while the abolition of slavery has relegated this Code to oblivion, a study of its provisions will be helpful to those of us who have as one of our tasks the solution of the race problem, which is ever present when unwise legislators strive to force a superior and an inferior race to measure their lives by the same moral and intellectual standard.

JOSEPH REYNOLDS AND THE DIAMOND JO LINE STEAMERS, 1862-1911

By George B. Merrick

Back of every great enterprise or achievement is a personality. A multitude of men may have contributed of their brain and brawn toward the result attained, but back of these we have learned to look for the guiding spirit — the mind of the machine, whence both its inception and the power that drives its multiplicity of cogs and wheels is derived. It often happens that this central figure is not as conspicuous in the public eye as that of other men of lesser caliber, but whose administrative functions have given them greater prominence. Particularly is this true in the case of great corporations, where the active agent is often mistaken for the more powerful impelling and constructive genius lying back of the enterprise, whose duties do not bring him as prominently before the public, and whose name often does not appear in the caption of the corporation in which he really is the impelling force.

In the case under consideration, the history of the Diamond Jo Line of Steamers, the converse of this proposition is true. Every mention of the title of this great packet company recalls the fact that Joseph Reynolds was part and parcel of the enterprise. In its inception he was in fact the whole company; and after it had developed into a large corporation involving more than half a million of dollars invested, he owned a great majority of the stock, and until his death his was the hand that guided and his the brain that devised.

Reynolds was in no sense a steamboat man at the

start. He had no idea of engaging in the business beyond the protection of the grain and produce trade that he was building up between Prairie du Chien and river ports to the northward as far as Lansing, Iowa, and Desoto, Wisconsin, where he practically controlled the grain trade. The great corporation of later years with its capital stock of half a million and its fleet of large and beautiful steamers was but the outgrowth, or expansion, of the modest personal investment in steamboat property rendered necessary by the exigencies of his business in earlier years.

Reynolds was a very reticent man, a trait common to strong characters in all generations. It follows, therefore, that little is known of his early life. He talked but little of his boyhood days, or the struggles of young manhood, when he was making a start in business life. What we know of these years is gleaned from the oral accounts of relatives and friends. To Capt. John Killeen[1] of

[1] Capt. John Killeen might well be selected as typifying the highest class of Mississippi River steamboat captains. It is a profession that is not taught in the universities. It cannot be learned in the correspondence schools. It must be learned at first-hand in the hard school of practice, and to know it as it ought to be known one must begin at the bottom and learn it step by step. Deep-water sailors have a saying that they apply to their most efficient commanders, that "they came in through the cabin window" — that is, they began as cabin boys on board ship, and climbed to the quarter-deck, through all the stages of seamanship. The same is true on the river; the most competent and successful commanders have been those who began at the bottom, and step by step learned all that a master in command of a big river boat should know to enable him to meet promptly and intelligently the varying conditions as they are presented in storm and fire and wreck, or in the less spectacular but just as essential duties required in handling his boat and his crew under the ordinary conditions of everyday life. Above all, he must have good judgment and courage — a courage of the kind that never permits its possessor to "lose his nerve." These are essentials.

John Killeen was born in Ireland, Nov. 27, 1844. His mother died when he was five years old, and his father when he was but nine. He began his river service when in his tenth year, out of St. Louis, first as a deck-sweep, lamp-boy, and later as a deck hand. In the spring of 1861, in his seventeenth year, he was working on the "Nebraska," in the St. Louis

Dubuque, who for many years was a trusted employee of the company, during a part of which time he was general superintendent of the line and the confidential adviser

and New Orleans trade. The opening of hostilities between North and South found his boat at New Orleans, loaded for St. Louis. In a recent chat the Captain related the difficulty his boat experienced in getting back to the North on her last trip. Three boats, the ''Nebraska,'' on which he was employed, the ''Westmoreland,'' and the ''Prince of Wales,'' left New Orleans on the same evening. The ''Nebraska'' alone got through, the others being halted and turned back for the use of the Confederacy. The ''Nebraska'' was stopped by the Confederate garrison at Island No. 10, and was held there for something over twenty-four hours, awaiting the decision of the authorities as to whether they would release her or not. She was the last boat to make the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis until after the blockade was raised, more than two years later.

The lower river being blocked young Killeen came north, and in the spring of 1862 we find him making and setting up the rigging of the new steamer ''Lansing,'' the first boat of the Diamond Jo fleet — it was not a ''line'' at that time, only a single boat — of which J. B. Wilcox was master, plying between Prairie du Chien and Lansing. He ran on the ''Lansing'' as deck hand until she was sold to the Minnesota Packet Company in midsummer, 1862, when the entire crew was transferred to the ''Flora.'' After making one trip as deck hand, Captain Wilcox and his mate having disagreed young Killeen was appointed mate, under protest, as he did not think himself old enough to take charge of a boat's crew; but Captain Wilcox insisted that he was plenty old enough and entirely capable, and he was practically forced to accept. This was the beginning of a friendship between the two men that lasted until the death of Captain Wilcox. While employed on the ''Flora'' Killeen formed the acquaintance of three men of the crew between whom there also grew up a close and lasting friendship; William Boland, later captain, and also brother-in-law of the Captain, who died in May, 1891, and is buried in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Dubuque; Harry Leitch, later mate, now living at Quincy, Ill.; and Dan Hall, later mate, now living at Trufant, Mich. — a friendship remaining until this day unbroken except by death.

In the spring of 1863 Killeen was employed by Reynolds to rig the ''Diamond Jo,'' then just off the stocks, at the completion of which duty he went back to the Minnesota Packet Company as deck hand for the remainder of the season. In 1864 he served in the same capacity on the ''Key City'' and ''Itasca,'' in 1865 on the ''Northern Light,'' and in 1866 on the ''Northern Light'' until she sank in Coon Slough, then on the ''Milwaukee'' a short time. In September, 1866, he went to work for John Robson of Winona, Minn., as mate of the ''Imperial.'' He worked for Robson during the seasons of 1866-70 inclusive, the last two seasons as captain on the ''Tiber'' and the ''Imperial,'' having received his master's certificate in his twenty-fifth year. In 1868 Reynolds bought

of Reynolds in all that pertained to the practical administration of steamboat affairs, we are indebted for such

back the ''Diamond Jo'' and barges that he had sold to the Minnesota Packet Company in 1863. Reynolds ran her a part of the season as captain — the only time he ever personally commanded one of his boats. He had Captain Killeen for his mate, and probably as his mentor, although this does not appear in history. The ''Diamond Jo'' soon laid up for repairs and Captain Killeen became mate of the ''Bannock City,'' of which Capt. Jerry Wood was master. In 1872 he was mate on the ''Lady Pike,'' a chartered boat, but went back to Robson in the latter part of the season as captain of the ''Imperial,'' which berth he retained after Reynolds bought the boat in 1873. He was captain of the ''Imperial'' and the ''Josie'' until the close of the season of 1877, during which time, and later he spent several winters towing grain from St. Louis to New Orleans. The winters of 1879 and 1880 were spent in this trade with the ''Imperial'' and the ''Josie'' with nine barges. Fred A. Bill was clerk with him at this time. He was captain of the ''Libbie Conger,'' 1878, 1879; of the ''Mary Morton,'' 1880, 1881; of the ''Pittsburg,'' 1882-93 inclusive; of the ''St. Paul,'' (first), 1894, 1895; ''Quincy,'' 1896 to 1902; ''St. Paul,'' (second), 1903, 1904. From 1901 to 1912 he was general superintendent of the Diamond Jo Line, performing the duties of this responsible position much of the time while commanding one of the boats of the line, his practice being always to have some one on board with him, either pilot, mate or clerk, who had a master's certificate, so that when called away, as he often was, he could turn over the command in his absence to a properly accredited officer. This enabled him to visit from time to time every agent between St. Louis and St. Paul and keep in closer touch with all his officers than would have been possible had he remained in the office at Dubuque. His acquaintance with rivermen — pilots, engineers, captains, clerks, and others — enabled him to man his boats with the very highest class of officials to be found on the river; and the freedom of the line from accidents attests the judgment with which he picked his men. There were no fires nor explosions on the boats of the company, and there were but three unavoidable accidents from snags, these resulting in the sinking of the boats but in no loss of life. Captain Killeen was a stockholder and director in the company for many years, as well as captain and superintendent. At the age of seventy years he still is actively engaged in business that brings him in contact with the great river on which he has spent most of his life. He is one of the principal stockholders in the Dubuque Boat and Boiler Works, one of the largest and most successful of the steel-hull boat-building firms in the West today, and is president of the Dubuque Sand and Gravel Company. To sum up the life of this typical Mississippi River steamboat man in the words of another riverman of wide experience and acquaintance: ''There may have been others, as good steamboat men as Captain Killeen on the upper river; there has never been a better.''

details of his early life as are available for this paper. He was born in the little town of Fallsburg, New York, June 11, 1819, of Quaker parentage. He was the youngest of six children. That business men are born rather than bred, just as great artists, musicians, and orators are born, is illustrated in a story that has been handed down showing little Jo's aptitude for business at a tender age. When he was but six years of age his elder brother, Silas, took him along to the neighboring town of Ellendale to see a general militia muster, or General Training Day, as it was called. Brother "Sile" supposed, of course, that Jo, like other boys, would be captivated by the pomp and ceremony of the soldiers on parade. Silas had baked a quantity of ginger and other cakes to sell, and had displayed them upon a street stand, and began crying "Cakes for sale." Immediately the business instinct asserted itself in little Jo, and forgetting the soldiers he took up the cry of "Cakes for sale," and entered with his whole soul into the spirit of salesmanship. Another vender had a stand near that of Silas, and was endeavoring by making the most noise, to divert his custom. Seeing this little Jo changed his cry and shouted: "That man's cakes are good but these are better! good and better! good and better!" The shrill treble of the six-year-old merchant carried conviction to the crowd and the stock of cakes was soon all sold.

He received a common-school education, and when seventeen years old began business for himself, buying cattle, sheep, and hogs, which he butchered, peddling the meat from a wagon through the neighboring towns and among the farmers along his route. This business involved much hard work and long drives in the summer heat and dust, without corresponding returns, and often there were losses that ate up the profits. He used to tell of one such hard summer's work that left him at the close of the season just three dollars net profit. Being a very

methodical man he kept accurate accounts of all his transactions, thus enabling him to determine whether he was making or losing by his efforts. In winter he taught school in the country at ten dollars a month and his board, "boarding 'round" among the families of his pupils a week in a place as was the custom in early days. Finding that teaching and the meat business were not netting him satisfactory results, in partnership with his brother Isaac, he opened a general store in Rockland, New York, of which venture little is known. A few years later he married Mary E. Morton, of Rockland. Her father furnished the money with which to buy a custom flour-and-feed mill which under his careful management proved a paying investment. Within a few years after its purchase the mill was burned, together with a large amount of grain belonging to the firm. Not having means with which to rebuild alone Reynolds induced some of his neighbors to join with him in a sort of stock company; but when they saw him putting in the latest and most expensive machinery, with mahogany bolts and hoppers, they decided that it would never pay and protested so strongly that he and Mrs. Reynolds' father, Mr. Morton, were compelled to buy them all out and proceed alone. The new mill, when completed, was the best in all that region, drawing business from long distances and proving a great financial success. This illustrates the motto that always governed Reynolds' efforts throughout his career, that "anything that is worth doing at all is worth doing well." Later he formed a partnership with an old schoolmate and bought a tannery situated near the mill, remodeled it along the latest lines of efficiency, and commenced the manufacture of oak-tanned sole leather. This business also proved very profitable, and after a few years he received such a good offer that he sold all his interests in Rockland and came west, locating in Chicago, and in connection with a partner establishing a tannery on West

Water Street. This must have been about, or previous to, the year 1856. He traveled extensively throughout Wisconsin and Minnesota, buying hides and furs for the Chicago tannery. In this connection a recent writer[2] relates the following story, probably apocryphal, of Reynolds and the late Philip Armour, another commercial giant of the West:

> It may not be true, but it is related that Joseph Reynolds and the late Phil. Armour, after coming West engaged in the same business of buying hides and furs along the river towns. That was before his steamboat days. As the story goes it appears that both had at the same time an overstock of hides for the market, and they agreed to play the then popular game of cards, "California Jack," the winner to buy out the loser, and Reynolds won. The market soon after rallied and he made good money on the deal.

There has always been more or less speculation as to the origin of the title "Diamond Jo," as applied to Reynolds from the time he came on the river in 1860, the popular conclusion being that it was derived from the fact that he wore, in later years, in his shirt-front or in his scarf, a very valuable diamond. This theory was so reasonable that it was generally accepted as correct. However, this was an error. When Reynolds first came on the river he had other uses for the thousand dollars represented by the sparkling piece of carbon. It was only after his energy and enterprise had netted him a handsome fortune that he ventured to gratify his taste in the direction of personal adornment. Capt. Fred A.

[2] John Deery, in Dubuque *Telegraph-Herald*, 1911. John Deery is an old resident of Dubuque, and a leading member of the bar. He has always taken great interest in everything connected with the Mississippi River and has written many valuable papers concerning its commerce, particularly those matters more intimately concerning Dubuque. He was one of the delegates representing the state of Iowa to accompany President Roosevelt to Memphis on the Waterways Excursion down the river in 1907, and was chairman of the delegation on the deep-waterways journey to the Gulf with President Taft in 1909.

Bill,[3] who for many years was connected with the Diamond Jo Line, and who was intimately acquainted with Reynolds, has undoubtedly given the correct answer to this question. In a letter to the Burlington *Saturday Evening Post*, in June, 1912, he says:

In shipping the hides and furs purchased on his trips through the Northwest it was his [Reynolds'] custom to mark the packages "J. Reynolds, Chicago, Ill." It seems that there

[3] Capt. Fred A. Bill, to whom the writer is greatly indebted for assistance in preparing this paper, is a son of Capt. E. C. Bill, the well-known steamboat builder and master, who lived at Read's Landing, Minn., in the sixties. He was born in Hartsgrove, Ashtabula Co., Ohio, Aug. 12, 1850. He received a common-school education and came West as a boy. His first venture on the river was as clerk on his father's towboat, the "Buckeye," from 1868 to 1871. During the season of 1870 the "Buckeye" was employed in handling material for the big Chicago and Northwestern Railway bridge at Winona, Minn. In 1872 he was clerk of the "Dakota," Capt. Jerry Webber, on Red River of the North, between Moorhead, Minn. and Fort Garry, Manitoba, now the city of Winnipeg. Returning to the Mississippi he entered the service of the Diamond Jo Line in the spring of 1873 as clerk of the "Imperial," Capt. John Killeen, with whom he served during the seasons of 1873, 1874, and on the "Josie" during the season of 1875, 1876, and 1877. While thus employed as clerk he made such good use of his faculties, and gained such experience in handling a steamboat that he was able to pass a satisfactory examination and was granted a master's certificate in 1876, at the age of twenty-six years. During the next four years he served as clerk or master on different boats of the line. In the winters of 1879 and 1880 he was clerk of the "Josie" and the "Imperial" with Captain Killeen in the lower river trade, towing grain with nine bulk barges, between St. Louis and New Orleans. He had been transferred in 1880 to the general offices at Dubuque as chief clerk, and later was appointed general freight and passenger agent of the line. He was a stockholder and director in the company in 1884, and for several years after leaving its service. In 1893 he was sent to the Hot Springs Railroad, at Hot Springs, Ark., in the interest of the Reynolds estate, which owned that property, as well as a controlling interest in the Diamond Jo Line. Here he served for nine years as auditor and local treasurer, general passenger and freight agent, and manager, remaining with the railroad company until the sale of the line to the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad Company in 1902, making a period of twenty-eight years of continuous service, much of the time in positions of great responsibility. Captain Bill is now located at Minneapolis, where he is engaged in the lumber business, and is also an officer in the Minneapolis & Rainy River Railway Company.

was another J. Reynolds in the same business in Chicago, and their shipments frequently became mixed. Mr. Reynolds then conceived the idea of establishing a sort of trade mark, and his next consignment was marked with his nickname, "Jo," with marks around it shaped like a diamond, thus [] and ever after he was known as Diamond "Jo" — and you will note that there is no period after the "Jo" when correctly written.

About the year 1860 Reynolds disposed of his Chicago business and engaged in the grain trade exclusively, with headquarters at Prairie du Chien, at which point transshipment was made from steamboat to the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad. The Minnesota Packet Company was paramount on the upper river between Galena and St. Paul. Some of its stockholders were interested also in the railway company, and were also engaged in buying grain. Their connection with both steamboat and railroad enabled them to obtain favors not accorded to others who were considered "outsiders," of whom Reynolds was one. His grain would be refused by the boat line while that of his rivals would be taken, often subjecting him to loss by the elements at the point of shipment, and to pecuniary losses through failure to deliver his grain upon a favorable market. To avoid at least some of the annoyances and delays to which he was subjected by the Packet Company, and to provide adequate transportation for his rapidly growing business, Reynolds, in the spring of 1862, built the steamboat "Lansing,"[4] a stern-wheel boat of 123 tons. This he placed

[4] In a letter to the writer dated Lansing, Ia., Feb. 3, 1910, Mrs. Martha S. Hemmenway says in this connection: "We were honored in 1862 by having a steamboat named for our town. The 'Lansing' was built, and owned by Joseph Reynolds, of Diamond Jo fame, and was commanded by Capt. Joseph Wilcox. Captain Fleming was captain of Reynolds' second boat, the 'Diamond Jo.' In company with Captain Fleming's daughter I was on the 'Diamond Jo' when she made her trial trip in the spring of 1863." Mrs. Hemmenway was the daughter of John Haney, who with H. H. Houghton, founder, and at the time editor of the Galena (Ill.) *Gazette*, were the founders of the city of Lansing, in April, 1848. Mrs. Hemmenway, with her mother and a little sister, arrived at

under the command of Capt. J. B. Wilcox of Desoto, Wisconsin, an experienced steamboat man, and ran her between Lansing and Prairie du Chien, carrying all his own grain and produce, and handling such other freight as was not directly controlled by the Packet Company, through the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway Company, at Prairie du Chien. Fearing that this small venture might lead to a competition detrimental to its business, the Packet Company prevailed upon Reynolds to sell them the "Lansing," promising in return to care for his business in a satisfactory manner.[5] Before the season ended, however, he found that the company had no intention of living up to the promises made him, and his business was suffering from neglect and discrimination. Like the old farmer in the fable, finding that the clods of compromise and concession were unavailing to secure an even chance with his rivals in business, he decided again to resort to the weapons to which the Packet Company was amenable. In the winter of 1862-63 he built, at Woodman, Wisconsin, on the Wisconsin River, some ten or fifteen miles from Prairie du Chien, a stern-wheel boat of 242 tons, which was named "Diamond Jo."[6] She was

the site of the future city, Oct. 14, 1848. Two weeks after their arrival the last boat of the season passed down the river, the crew shouting a good-by to the little group of pioneers standing at the landing, the family consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Haney, their son James, and the two little girls.

[5] The "Lansing," after her sale to the Minnesota Packet Company, was run as a low-water boat by that company and its successor, the Northwestern Union Packet Company, between La Crosse and St. Paul. Capt. William L. Ewing was master in 1864. She was temporarily in the Minnesota River trade in 1865, and again in 1866. In the fall of the latter year she was sold to Rambo & Son, of LeClaire, Ia., and in the spring of 1867 began making daily trips between LeClaire and Davenport. On May 13, 1867, while lying at the bank of Hampton, Ill., one of her boilers exploded, killing the pilot, Robert Smith of LeClaire, and Van Dyke, the clerk, whose body was blown across the river, landing on the Iowa side. The "Lansing" was rebuilt at Dubuque, and was still in service in 1869.

[6] The "Diamond Jo," named for her owner, was placed in commission in the spring of 1863, under command of Capt. William Fleming, of Lansing, Ia., but before the close of the season was sold to the Minnesota

said to have been built from a model made by Capt. Hudson Porter,[7] who was foreman of the construction crew. Charles W. Cowles of McGregor, Iowa, a stepson of Capt. William Fleming, had the general supervision of the work, buying the material and paying the workmen, and when the boat came out in the spring of 1863 he was appointed clerk, with Capt. William Fleming master. Two barges for bulk grain, the "Conger" and the "Fleming," were also built and placed in commission.

The old Minnesota Packet Company was reorganized in February, 1864, and incorporated under the laws of Iowa, with a cash capital of $400,000 under the name of "The Northwestern Packet Company." This company entered into a contract to maintain a daily line of boats from Prairie du Chien, and to carry all freight and passengers from the Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien Railway to St. Paul and intermediate ports. The officers of the reorganized company were John Lawler of Prairie du Chien, president; George A. Blanchard of Dubuque, secretary and treasurer, and William E. Wellington of Dubuque, superintendent. The new company was anxious to protect its monopoly of the Prairie du Chien business, and by promises and guarantees induced Reynolds to sell the "Diamond Jo" and barges, and for the second time retire from the transportation business. The new company honorably fulfilled the terms of its agreement,

Packet Company, and ran in that line until 1868, when she was bought back by Reynolds. She was snagged and sunk at State Line, above Dunleith, in 1869, but was soon raised and taken to the shipyard at Dubuque and repaired. She ran in the Diamond Jo Line until 1878, when she was dismantled at Dubuque and her machinery placed in the new boat "Josephine." During her years of service she was commanded at different times by William Fleming, J. B. Wilcox, Benjamin A. Conger, and others.

[7] Capt. Hudson Porter was born at Jacob's Creek, Pa., Dec. 9, 1828. He came west in 1862 and located at Prairie du Chien, where he worked as a ship carpenter. In 1876 he removed to Dubuque and was employed in the shipyard of the Diamond Jo Company. He died at his home in Dubuque, Feb. 16, 1913.

and for three seasons satisfactorily cared for all his business.

On May 1, 1866, the White Collar Line — W. F. Davidson's La Crosse & St. Paul Packet Company — and the Northwestern Line were consolidated under the name "Northwestern Union Packet Company," with William F. Davidson of St. Paul, president; John Lawler of Prairie du Chien, general manager; George A. Blanchard of Dubuque, secretary; William H. Rhodes of St. Paul, treasurer, and William E. Wellington of Dubuque and Peyton S. Davidson of La Crosse, superintendents. Through this combination, or rather consolidation, William F. Davidson became the ruling factor on the river between Dubuque and St. Paul. There were stockholders in the new company engaged in grain-buying, and they were able, through their connection with the line, to control the situation at the railroad terminals at La Crosse and Prairie du Chien, and to embarrass Reynolds so much that he found he must secure other river transportation and railroad connections or go out of business. It is very unlikely that he considered the latter alternative to any great extent. Instead, he bought, in 1867, the twin-screw propeller "John C. Gault"[8] and some barges, and for the third time engaged in steamboating on his own account. The "Gault," a small boat, was used that season to tow barges to Prairie du Chien.

[8] The "John C. Gault" was 92 feet long, 17 feet beam, 5.2 feet hold, 61.52 tons, built at Savanna, Ill., in 1866. She was of a type of boat not often seen on the Mississippi, and one not likely to become popular until all the old-time rivermen are dead, at least. Unlike a paddle-wheel boat, which, if it picks up a rock or snag and tears out half a dozen buckets, can be repaired by the carpenter and the engineer in a short time, if a propeller hits a snag or rock it is usually smashed or torn off, rendering the boat helpless until it has been docked and a new propeller fitted. In addition the sand is always cutting out the "sleeve" where the shaft comes through the deadwood at the stern, causing constant leaking. The "Gault" was sold in 1872 to New Orleans parties, and was last reported as running on Lake Pontchartrain, in 1884, hailing from New Orleans. J. B. Wilcox was master in 1868.

Negotiating with the Chicago & Northwestern Railway, Reynolds was able to enter into an agreement with that road to operate from its terminus on the river at Fulton, Illinois, and in 1868 he first began to operate a steamboat line, which he called the Chicago, Fulton & River Line, with four boats — the "John C. Gault," the "Ida Fulton,"[9] the "Diamond Jo," which he bought back from the Minnesota Packet Company, and a chartered boat, the "Lady Pike."[10] Capt. W. G. Wood was appointed superintendent and general manager and took care of the business of the line. William H. Simpson was hired by the year as clerk, to serve on board any boats to which he might be assigned by the superintendent. The "Bannock City"[11] was chartered in 1871 to

[9] The "Ida Fulton" was a stern-wheel passenger and freight boat of 284.27 tons, built at Cincinnati in 1864. She was bought by the Diamond Jo Line on the Ohio in 1868. At that time Captain Bisbee was master, George Lewis, chief engineer, and George Diley, assistant. She was in the line until 1875 or 1876, being then sold to Capt. Charles H. Meeds of Stillwater, Minn., and largely used in towing wheat barges. She was dismantled at Dubuque in 1885 by Captain Meeds, and her machinery placed in the steamer "Glenmont," built for him. Besides Captain Bisbee she was commanded at different times by Capt. Anthony Sheets, in 1873, and Thomas Cushing in 1874. Fred A. Bill was clerk in 1874, with Captain Cushing.

[10] The "Lady Pike" was a fine stern-wheel passenger and freight packet of 404.05 tons, built at Cincinnati in 1860. She was in government service as a transport during the war, under command of Capt. William Walker. Gov. Louis P. Harvey of Wisconsin was drowned at Pittsburg Landing, Tenn., a few days after the battle of Shiloh by falling between two steamboats while attempting to step from one to the other. His body was found by a negro and some white boys fifteen days later, sixty miles down the river, and Captain Walker of the "Lady Pike" proceeded to that point and reclaimed the body. The "Lady Pike" was chartered by the Diamond Jo Line in 1870 from Henry Lowery of Dubuque. Capt. J. B. Wilcox was master while in this service, and perhaps others.

[11] The "Bannock City," a small stern-wheel freight and passenger packet of 150.22 tons, built at LeClaire, Ia., 1865, and owned by Capt. Jerry Wood and Capt. Alexander Lamont, was running out of Galena in 1867, with M. S. Allen, clerk. She was chartered by the Diamond Jo Line in 1871, and commanded by Capt. Jerry Wood while running in the line. She was finally sunk at Madison, Ind.

take care of the rapidly increasing business, and provide transportation for the freight from the railroad, which the firm was bound to take care of. The title of the line was changed to that of "Diamond Jo Line Steamers," headquarters and general offices were opened at Fulton, and an attempt at regularity of service between that point and St. Paul was made. The business prospered to such an extent that it was found necessary to increase the efficiency of the fleet. In 1872 the "John C. Gault," which was altogether unfitted for package freight traffic, was sold, and two larger and better boats, the "Arkansas" [12] and the "Tidal Wave," [13] were bought at New Orleans, while in 1873 the "Imperial," [14] and a number of additional barges were bought from John Robson of Winona. In order to take care of the Chippewa River trade, which, prior to the completion of the West Wisconsin Railway to Eau Claire in midsummer, 1870, was

[12] The "Arkansas" was a stern-wheel passenger and freight packet of 549.21 tons, and 256 horse power, built at Pittsburgh in 1868. She was in the line until 1878, used much of the time as a towboat, her power enabling her to handle from four to eight barges with ease and safety. Capt. J. B. Wilcox commanded her for a time. She was sold to P. S. Davidson in 1878 and taken to the Missouri River, and was sunk by ice at St. Louis a year or two later, with total loss to Mr. Davidson.

[13] The "Tidal Wave" was a stern-wheel boat for passengers and freight, of 476.09 tons. Capt. M. Mitchell was master in 1873 and Jesse D. Mefford, pilot. She ran in the line until 1878, when she was sold, together with two barges, the "Jerry" and the "Jeanette," to Capt. P. S. Davidson, who took her to the Missouri River, where she ran for three seasons. She was then brought back to the Mississippi, and in 1881 was rebuilt at La Crosse, and rechristened "Grand Pacific."

[14] The "Imperial" was a stern-wheel towboat of 222.41 tons, built for the trade around Pittsburgh and on the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. She had no accommodations for passengers and no freight capacity. She was very low between-decks, and an ordinary man could not stand upright in her staterooms. Capt. Fred Bill was clerk on her part of the season of 1873. He is a very tall man, and when he went into the office he had to shorten the legs of the office stool to prevent his head hitting the roof carlines. Capt. John Killeen was master, 1873-74. She was sold to Leyhe Brothers & Eagle Packet Company of St. Louis in the winter of 1880, and was dismantled at that port soon after.

an item well worth competing for, an arrangement had been made with Capt. Edward Campbell, of Durand, Wisconsin, by which the "Jeanette Roberts" [15] was to run in connection with the Line from Read's Landing, Minnesota. This proved a very satisfactory arrangement to both of the contracting parties, but met with great disfavor from the owners of other boats plying on the Chippewa, who protested strongly against the practice of holding freight discharged from the Line boats at Read's Landing until the arrival of the "Roberts," while their own boats were lying at the levee ready to start when the freight was landed. At that time the only point on the river above Fulton reached by the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad was Winona, where the bridge connecting the La Crosse Division on the Wisconsin shore with the Winona & St. Peter Division at Winona had been completed in January, 1871.[16]

Of the situation in 1873, following these changes, Captain Bill says:

The arrangement made by Mr. Reynolds with the Chicago & Northwestern had proved a very good one for both parties.

[15] The "Jeanette Roberts" was a stern-wheel packet of 145.83 tons, built at Rock Island, Ill., in 1857, by Capt. Louis Robert, and named for his daughter, with the English spelling, "Roberts," instead of the French form, "Robert." She was built for the Minnesota River trade, where she ran from 1857 to 1859 under command of her owner, Capt. Louis Robert, and from 1860 to 1863 under command of Capt. F. Aymond. She was in the Chippewa River trade in 1868, 1869, and 1870, Capt. Edward Campbell, owner; Capt. Chet Hall was master in 1870, with Sam Murray, clerk. She was dismantled at Durand, Wis., in the late summer of 1870 and her machinery placed in a new boat, the "Frank Forest," also owned by Captain Campbell.

[16] This bridge had first been completed in May, 1870, but while being tested with a train loaded with stone the long central span gave way, precipitating the loaded cars into the river, fifty feet below, the engine alone, owing to the breaking of a coupling, remaining on the track. Five painters working on the bridge were also thrown into the river but, strangely enough, all were rescued by the timely aid of boats provided through the foresight of Capt. Samuel D. Van Gorder of Winona, who appears to have had his doubts regarding the stability of the structure.

The railroad got all his grain and he got all the merchandise the road could secure for points on the run. A number of barges were constructed and other boats bought until in 1873 the fleet consisted of the "Tidal Wave," "Arkansas," "Diamond Jo," "Ida Fulton," and "Imperial," with probably some twenty barges. The four first-named boats comprised the regular line; the "Imperial" was a very powerful towboat that was used during the spring and fall rush of grain. She was known as the "little whale," and frequently handled eight barges of bulk grain, which, with the deck load of sacked grain carried in times of good water, often reached as high as 100,000 bushels. Practically all the grain belonging to Mr. Reynolds, amounting to many millions of bushels a year, passed through the elevator at Fulton built by the Chicago & Northwestern Railway.

One may get a better conception of what a cargo of 100,000 bushels of wheat means by reducing it to the terms of railroad transportation as it then existed. In those days a carload of wheat was 400 bushels. Dividing this into 100,000 gives 250 carloads. The standard engines of that date could not handle to exceed twenty-five cars. This would give ten trains of twenty-five cars, with ten engines and ten train crews to handle them. Figuring the cars and engines at thirty feet long each, and the ten cabooses at twenty-four feet each, gives a total of 8,400 feet of train — over a mile and a half. This comparison illustrates the economy of river over railway transportation. The increased efficiency of locomotives, cars, and roadbed in these later days is fully met by the increased efficiency of modern river steamboats. The towboat "Sprague," for instance, on the Ohio, with 3,750 horse power, can handle a tow of coalboats covering over seven acres, and drawing ten feet of water. When the upper river gets a six-foot channel from St. Paul to St. Louis the produce of the Northwest will go to the sea by way of New Orleans, and at one-half the rate it now costs to transport it by way of New York or other Atlantic ports.

The nickname of "little whale" as applied to the "Imperial" related only to her ability to handle great tows of barges. When divorced from the tranquilizing influences of half a dozen barges she might better have been termed a flying fish. I have the word of one pilot who handled her several seasons that when light, with a full head of steam, it was almost impossible to keep her in the river, even with two men at the wheel; and even then, with all precautions, she would run away from a reef and never stop until she hit the bank. Little traits like this served to liven a pilot's watch and helped him to earn his salary. In this connection it may be said that to the rivermen every boat had a distinct personality, certainly as marked as in the case of different horses. The pilots and engineers went further than this, and compared their differing characteristics to those of different individuals, as if their perversities were the result of a reasoned purpose.

The year 1874 witnessed a number of important changes in the Diamond Jo Company. Reynolds had made his home in McGregor, Iowa, from the time he left Chicago and entered the business arena on the Mississippi. This may have had something to do with the removal of the general offices of the company from Fulton to Dubuque. The fact that the company established a large shipyard at Eagle Point, three miles above the city, probably was another great factor. The greater facility in getting back and forth between Dubuque and McGregor than was possible when the offices were at Fulton undoubtedly had weight with Reynolds; and the great advantage resulting from the location in a larger city no doubt had weight from a business point of view. The increasing volume of business demanded an additional clerical force in the general offices at Dubuque, and William H. Simpson,[17] who had been clerk on a number of

[17] William H. Simpson was born in Philadelphia, Aug. 9, 1846, and

boats of the line since 1869, was transferred to the office as bookkeeper. The shipyard proved a great success. Not only were the new boats required by the line built here, and all repairs made, but many of the finest wood-hulled raftboats were also built. The twenty years between 1875 and 1895 witnessed the greatest activity in the lumber business ever known on the Mississippi, or any other river, or in any country or age. It gave employment to hundreds of steamboats used in towing the logs and lumber to market, and to thousands of men who constituted their crews. The repairs constantly required by these boats, and the new craft necessary to fill the gaps made by worn-out or disabled boats, kept the yard constantly employed, with a force at times reaching as high as eighty skilled mechanics. In addition to the boat-builders a crew of expert divers with all necessary gear, with barges, pumps, and other machinery and rigging for raising sunken vessels, was likewise maintained, ready at an hour's notice to proceed to the relief of any boat in trouble, anywhere between St. Louis and St. Paul. In this work Captain, or General Superintendent Killeen was an expert; and the record of his service for the company stamps him as the peer of any man on the river in this particular line of work.

While the headquarters of the line had been transferred to Dubuque, the run still continued to be from Fulton to St. Paul, with four boats handling the regular

was educated in the public schools of Johnstown, Pa., to which place his parents removed in 1852. Having come west as a youth in April, 1867, he was appointed second clerk of the "Key City," by the Minnesota Packet Company. Later, after the reorganization of the companies, he was on the "Phil. Sheridan" and "Annie Johnston." He began work on the Diamond Jo Line Steamers as clerk in 1869, remaining with the company as clerk on different boats of the line, and as bookkeeper in the general offices at Dubuque, until 1877. In May, 1877, he went to work for James J. Hill of St. Paul, and was appointed agent for the Northwestern Fuel Company, at Milwaukee, with which company he is still connected as resident director. He is living (1915) in Milwaukee, where he is a member of the city council.

business under an eight-day schedule — not a very fast run, but as each boat towed from two to four barges loaded with package freight up and grain and flour down it was a very good service. The "Imperial" was kept in reserve to clean up any overplus of grain. In 1875 the "Josie" [18] was bought at St. Louis and placed in the line as a freight and towboat, with Capt. John Killeen as master and Fred A. Bill, clerk. She was also in service with the same officers in 1876. During the season of 1877 the water became very low and most of the boats were laid up. The "Josie" was kept in commission as long as possible, with John Killeen, master, and E. M. Dickey, clerk, Mr. Bill having gone on the "Buckeye" with his father, Capt. E. C. Bill of Read's Landing, for the season. The "Josie" was laid up about midsummer and her crew transferred to the "Jim Watson," [19] chartered from McDonald Brothers of La Crosse, which was used during the remainder of the season in towing grain from Lake Pepin ports to Eastmoor, the terminus of the Green Bay & Mississippi Railroad, on the Wisconsin side of the river three miles below Winona. An additional boat, the "John M. Chambers," [20] had been chartered during the season of 1876 to take care of the busi-

[18] The "Josie" was a very powerful stern-wheel boat, built at Madison, Ind., in 1873; 146.2 feet long, 28.6 feet beam and 4.8 feet hold, of 237.57 tons. She was used largely as a towboat, her great power enabling her to handle as many as eight barges with safety, while her limited passenger accommodations unfitted her for passenger traffic. She was sold to Leyhe Brothers' Eagle Packet Company of St. Louis, in 1880. In 1901 she was engaged in towing hardwood logs and lumber from lower river points to St. Louis. She was snagged and sunk on the lower river some years later.

[19] The "Jim Watson" was a light-draft, stern-wheel boat of 107.42 tons, built at Belle Vernon, Pa., 1858, owned by McDonald Brothers of La Crosse, and used by them in the rafting business. In 1882 they sold her to George Harrall and W. H. Womacks, of Illinois City, Ill., who ran her in the rafting trade for several years longer.

[20] The "John M. Chambers" was a stern-wheel freight and passenger boat, built at Mound City, Ill., in 1875; 250.96 tons. Capt. Alexander Lamont was master while in the service of the Diamond Jo Line.

ness the regular boats were unable to handle. In 1878 the "Libbie Conger" [21] was launched from the Eagle Point shipyard, the first boat to be built for the company at its new plant. She was placed in commission, Sept. 1, 1878, the crew of the "Josie" being transferred to her. Her first trip was a memorable one, as shown by the following extracts from the log kept by one of the officers:

Left Dubuque at 8:00, P. M., September 1, 1878; arrived at Stillwater, Minnesota, September 9th, at 8:15, P. M.; left Stillwater on the 10th at 8:20, A. M., and arrived at Dubuque on the 16th at 9:50, P. M. Went to Stillwater on account of water being too low to permit going to St. Paul. The cause of the long trip — I guess the longest on record — was low water. We were aground everywhere there was a chance, and through no fault of the pilots, for we always pulled over the bars in the best water.

The "Diamond Jo" had been dismantled this year and her machinery placed in a new boat, the "Josephine," [22] built in the company's shipyard at Dubuque,

[21] The "Libbie Conger," named for the daughter of John P. Conger, superintendent of the Hot Springs Railroad Company, was a stern-wheel boat of 324.09 tons, 168 feet long, 29.5 beam, and 4.5 feet hold. She had the engines of the "Fanny Harris," one of the old Minnesota Packet Company's boats, sunk opposite Point Douglass, Minn., in 1863, which had worn out two other boats, the "Keithsburg" and the "Josie." The writer of this sketch handled these engines on the "Fanny Harris" in the fifties. Capt. John Killeen was master of the "Conger," 1878, 1879, and 1880, with Fred A. Bill, clerk. She was sold to Capt. J. Richtman in 1892, and used in government contract work, with Captain "Dick" Talbott in command. On May 27, 1896, while lying at the foot of Biddle Street, St. Louis, she was struck by the cyclone that visited the city on that date, torn from her moorings, and her upper works wrecked. Capt. Dan Hall, now of Trufant, Mich., watchman on the steamer "Pittsburg," who was on shore at the time, writes that he saw her break through the bridge and float off down the river. When about a mile below the bridge she was seen by Capt. James Boland of the "Pittsburg" to go down head first in deep water. The location of the wreck is not known to this day, so far as I have ever heard. Her captain, his wife, and their two children were on board at the time, and all were lost.

[22] The "Josephine" was named for the wife of L. D. Richardson of Chicago, a close friend and business associate of Reynolds. Richardson

and two of the older boats, the "Arkansas" and the "Tidal Wave," were sold to the Peyton S. Davidson Company, and taken to the Missouri River for service.

During the year 1879 the operations of the line were extended to St. Louis. The following clipping from an up-river paper, under the caption "Diamond Jo Line of Steamers," says:

> This popular line of steamers will be extended to St. Louis this season. The steamers "Josephine" and "Libbie Conger" will run between St. Louis and Fulton, making eight-day trips and connecting there with the steamers "Ida Fulton" and "Josie" for St. Paul. The "Imperial" will run between Rock Island and St. Paul, thus giving the upper end of the river three boats in eight days.

The year 1880 witnessed a number of changes which affected in a marked degree the steamboat service on the upper river. The great Keokuk Northern Line Packet Company, with a capitalization of $750,000, of which "Commodore" William F. Davidson was president, was thrown into bankruptcy by internal dissensions. In the spring of 1881 Captain Davidson formed a new company, with a capital stock of $100,000; he bought some of the best boats of the defunct organization, and with eight boats attempted to cover the river above St. Louis, running a daily line to Keokuk, and a semi-weekly line to St. Paul. His brother, Peyton S. Davidson, with S. F. Clinton and Lafayette Holmes, all of La Crosse, Wisconsin, organized still another company under the laws of Wisconsin, and with six boats also entered the St. Louis and St. Paul trade. Under these conditions the Diamond Jo Line began to pay more attention to passenger business. In the meantime the Chicago & Northwestern Railway having reached many of the upper river ports with its own lines, the arrangement between that com-

was for a time superintendent of the Hot Springs Railroad. The "Josephine" was 155 feet long, 28.8 feet beam, 4.8 feet hold; 240.77 tons; stern-wheel; was dismantled at Dubuque, 1886.

pany and the Diamond Jo Line was at least partially cancelled, and a somewhat similar agreement entered into with the Illinois Central Railroad, whereby the grain business of Reynolds was to pass through its elevator at East Dubuque (formerly Dunleith), and in a short time Fulton became a minor port of call.

In addition to his river business Reynolds was interested in another company buying grain at some twenty-five or more stations on the Illinois Central lines in Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota, and as a result the relations with this road soon became as close as those formerly existing with the Chicago & Northwestern. The partial collapse of the Davidson lines from St. Louis presented a very tempting opening, of which the Diamond Jo people were not slow to avail themselves. As stated, they had already begun to pay more attention to the passenger traffic. This policy was rendered all the more inviting, if not essential, from the fact that the grain trade was more and more diverted to the railroads that were now tapping the sources of supply, not only on the river itself, but the country lying back from the river. In pursuance of this changing policy the company built a large and fine stern-wheel passenger boat, the "Mary Morton,"[23] named for Reynolds' wife, and the run was extended to St. Louis. The "Sidney,"[24] another large stern-wheeler, was bought on the Ohio and placed on the St. Louis run, and two of the older and smaller freight

[23] The "Mary Morton" was built at Dubuque in 1880; 210 feet long, 32.5 feet beam, 5.6 feet hold; 456.96 tons. John Killeen, master, 1880, 1881; William Boland, 1882 to (?). Sunk below Clarksville, Mo., Sept. 10, 1892; raised by Supt. John Killeen and in dry-dock at Dubuque within eighteen days after sinking. Sold to St. Louis parties in 1895; snagged and sunk below Grand Tower, Ill., in 1896, with total loss.

[24] The "Sidney" was built by the Lists Boatbuilding Company, Wheeling, W. Va., in 1880, and bought by the Diamond Jo Company the same year; 617.88 tons. L. H. Cubberly was master in 1892. Was remodeled into an excursion boat in 1912. Was transferred to the Streckfus Steamboat Company when the Line was sold in 1911.

boats, the "Josie" and the "Libbie Conger" were sold. In 1881 still another big stern-wheeler, the "Pittsburg,"[25] was bought on the Ohio and added to the St. Louis line in active competition with the Davidson lines. From 1881 to 1886 the line consisted of four boats — the "Josephine," "Mary Morton," "Sidney," and "Pittsburg" — the "Josephine" being more of a freight and towboat than a passenger packet. In the meantime, in 1883, the line had been incorporated as the Diamond Jo Line of Steamers, with a capital of $300,000, and two of its trusted employees, E. M. Dickey and Capt. John Killeen, became stockholders. Reynolds was elected president; E. M. Dickey was elected secretary and treasurer, and was appointed general freight and passenger agent; Captain Killeen was appointed superintendent of construction, which position he held until 1891, when, after the death of Reynolds, he was elected vice-president, and appointed general superintendent. Owing to the rapid increase in the business of the company the division of labor and responsibility thus assigned was found to be too great to be properly handled by the three directors, and at the annual meeting in 1884 two additional employees, Capt. Fred A. Bill and Isaac P. Lusk,[26] were given an oppor-

[25] The "Pittsburg" was built at Cincinnati in 1879; 250 feet long, 39.2 feet beam, 5.8 feet hold; 722.14 tons; bought by Diamond Jo Line, 1881; given a new hull in 1895; wrecked in cyclone at St. Louis, May 27, 1896; rebuilt at Dubuque, 1898, and rechristened "Dubuque." John Killeen was master from 1882 to 1893 inclusive. James Boland was master in 1896, when wrecked.

[26] Isaac P. Lusk was born at Albany, Ill., Nov. 5, 1856. His early education was obtained in the public schools of Albany, and later in the Winona, Minn., High School and Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill. Having been born and raised on the banks of the Mississippi it was the natural thing to do to find employment on the river, beginning as second clerk, and soon after being promoted to the charge of a steamboat office. He continued work for the Diamond Jo Line Steamers in 1873 as chief clerk, which position he held on various boats of the company until 1883, at which time he became a stockholder in the company. In 1884 he was elected director and was appointed general agent at St. Louis. At the annual meeting held Mar. 19, 1891, following the death of Reynolds,

tunity to become stockholders, and the directorate was increased to five. Reynolds was elected president; E. M. Dickey, secretary and treasurer; John Killeen, superintendent of construction; Fred A. Bill was appointed general passenger and freight agent, with general offices at Dubuque, and Isaac P. Lusk, general agent at St. Louis. This organization continued without change until the death of Reynolds in 1891. The business of the line was gradually changing, and as the grain trade dropped off the passenger and package-freight business increased.

Coincident with this change in the character of the traffic — from the grain trade to passenger service — though not directly related as to cause and effect, there was a marked change in the character of the deck crews — roustabouts — of the several boats. Heretofore the deck crews had been composed of white men. Many of these were hard-working, sober, and industrious men, intent only upon earning a living. In the main, however, these specifications would not apply. Many, or most, of the roustabouts were drunken, dissolute, quarrelsome ruffians, who gave the officers a great deal of trouble, and to control whom required, in particular, mates of strong character and undoubted courage, whose methods were not always the most refined, or even humane, but which were always effective. The work of the roustabout was hard; and the fact that the officers were generally better equipped with strength and courage than they were with patience in no way tended to lighten his labors. It followed that the good men who wanted to

Lusk was appointed assistant superintendent and general agent, with headquarters at St. Louis. Mrs. Reynolds died in Aug., 1895, and at the annual meeting, Mar. 2, 1896, her brother, Jay Morton, who had succeeded to her estate, was elected president of the company, and in the consequent reorganization Lusk's duties were greatly enhanced, he being appointed general passenger and freight agent, with entire charge of the financial departments of the company, with offices in St. Louis. This position he held until the sale of the line to the Streckfus Steamboat Company in 1911. He died at his home in St. Louis in December, 1915.

work sought other fields where there was less of privation, and those of the other and less desirable class were kicked ashore by the mates, leaving an open field for the colored men, who were glad to take their places. These, though less responsible, were light-hearted and tractable, and performed the arduous tasks set for them with a blithe and jocund buoyancy of spirits that robbed the labor of much of the horror with which it had been viewed by passengers unfamiliar with river conditions and usages, when the crew was composed of sullen and desponding white men, unwillingly driven to their tasks by the urgency of the officers over them. The labor of "toting" freight thus became a comedy, greatly enjoyed by the traveling public, in place of the tragedy of former days.

That this feature of river travel in these later days takes hold of the imagination of the lady passengers is manifested in the following description of a crew of colored men at work by Miss Grace King, who has traveled the Ohio and Mississippi rivers many times:

> And the roustabout throwing the rope from the perilous end of the dangling gang-plank! And the dangling roustabouts hanging like drops of water from it — dropping sometimes twenty feet to the land — dropping sometimes into the river itself to the infinite amusement of his brother rousters. And then when the great boat is safely "made fast," what a rolling of barrels, and shouldering of sacks, and singing of Jim Crow songs and pacing of Jim Crow steps; and black skins glistening through torn shirts, and white teeth gleaming through red lips, and laughing, and talking.

This wasn't work; it was a frolicsome spectacle not at all calculated to give the passengers the blues. It has thus come about that instead of a white crew who would not permit a "nigger" to touch a package of freight, the boats are now manned almost exclusively by colored crews of "rousters" in which a white man is unwelcome both to officers and crew.

There were never any bars on the boats of the Diamond Jo Line, and liquor-drinking by either passengers or crew was not countenanced. Reynolds himself, while not claiming to be a total abstainer, once told a reporter that it had been so long since he had had a drink of whisky that he could not remember the year when the last one was taken. He had been written up as a riverman, and therefore a hard drinker and a very profane man. This naturally, and of course. As stated, he did not drink liquor at all; and being a Quaker he did not swear. He was able to hire men who could express themselves with great compass and power in this regard when the occasion demanded more than a mere affirmation.

Reynolds had one son, Blake, born at McGregor about the year 1860. After he had finished his education he engaged with his father in various enterprises, and in the late seventies they turned their attention to gold mining in Arizona and Colorado, at first meeting with the usual experiences of "tenderfeet." They had bargained for a gold mine with a taking title, the "Del Pasco," at Congress, Arizona, with the proviso that they were to prove its value by putting their own men in to work it for a time before paying for it. This they did with the result that the mine appeared to be all that was claimed for it. The purchase price was paid, but within a very short time it was found that there was no gold at all in the workings. It had been "salted" with consummate skill while their own crew was working it, probably with the connivance of some of the men employed by the prospective purchasers, and it was, in fact, worthless. When this conclusion was reached it was at once abandoned. Reynolds was a good loser, however. He pocketed his loss, accepted it as a good joke on his apparent astuteness in making a bargain, and let it go at that. He at once cast about for a new venture, and soon after bought the Congress Mine in the same locality. Some

one said to him: "Mr. Reynolds, after losing so much in the Del Pasco I should not think you would buy another mine in the same locality."

"Well," said Jo, "when you lose anything don't you look for it where you lost it?"

The Congress was a very rich mine, and fully justified Reynolds in his decision.

In another instance Reynolds was robbed by a man whom he had befriended, and whom he trusted. A man by the name of Morrissy wired him from Leadville, Colorado, that there was a rich and promising mine there that could be bought very cheap, its owners not having funds wherewith to develop it. He immediately proceeded to Leadville, examined the property, and being satisfied that it was valuable, agreed to buy it at the purchase price of $40,000, provided Morrissy, who was a practical miner, would stay with it as superintendent, Reynolds to put in good machinery with which to operate it, and to promise that as soon as it had paid all that he had put in he would deed to Morrissy one-fourth of the mine. The returns soon equaled the total of the investment, and true to his promise he deeded to Morrissy the one-fourth interest and left him in charge of the work. Some time after Reynolds observed that the smelter returns sent him were not numbered consecutively, and when he investigated he found that Morrissy had retained very much more than his share, the one-quarter to which he was entitled, amounting to something over $250,000. The fact that Morrissy could neither read nor write probably hampered him in manipulating the returns. The shortage was settled without prosecution, Reynolds' Quaker antecedents discouraging, if not forbidding, an appeal to law in the settlement of personal differences. On the whole his mining ventures were very profitable. The death of his son, Blake, in 1885, had the effect of greatly abridging this line of investments.

One of the best-paying ventures of "Diamond Jo" Reynolds was the Hot Springs (Arkansas) Railroad, of which he was for a time sole owner, and into which he put his whole fortune, and, as he admitted himself, about all his nerve. Hot Springs is built about the celebrated medicinal springs that burst like a watery volcano from the top of the mountain where they are situated. In the early days the springs were only reached after an up-hill climb of twenty-two miles from the nearest railroad station at Malvern. For the benefit of his health Reynolds found it necessary to visit the springs some time in the early eighties. The stages in use between the railroad at Malvern and the springs were old and rickety, and the one in which he had taken passage broke down completely while they were yet some miles from their destination, and Reynolds and his fellow-passengers were compelled to walk the remaining distance. On arrival at the springs Reynolds remonstrated in somewhat forcible terms, to which the proprietor rejoined with a sneer: "Well, what are you goin' to do about it?"

"I'll build a railroad," said "Jo."

The stage man thought it a bluff; but Reynolds studied the proposition while taking the "cure," later calling in engineers to assist him; deciding that the chances were rather for than against success he put all his ready money into the work, hypothecating his stock in the steamboat company and in his mines. Within a few months he had completed a narrow-gauge road twenty-two miles in length from Malvern to Hot Springs, upon which he had issued no bonds, and the stock of which was practically all in his own name. Later, as the business increased and the springs became the most popular health resort on the Continent, he bonded the road and with the proceeds changed the line to a standard-gauge, with heavier steel, and its sidetracks at the top of the mountain, from that time to this, have constantly been filled with palace

cars and private coaches from all parts of the country, switched on to this, one of the best-paying twenty miles of road in the United States.

With this brief allusion to two or three of the many interests that engaged Reynolds' attention, aside from the steamboat line bearing his name, his personality ceases to be a part of this history, although for more than twenty years after his death his name was perpetuated in the line which he founded, until the final dissolution of the company and the sale of its boats and other assets.

Joseph Reynolds died at Congress, Arizona, Feb. 21, 1891, leaving an unsigned will. All of his large estate reverted to his widow, who scrupulously carried out her husband's wishes as expressed in the memorandum made in the Arizona wilderness. To each of the seven or eight men named she gave $50,000, and in addition a large amount was set aside for the establishment of a training school for young men at Chicago. Death is a tragedy, wherever and to whomsoever it comes. It is not always dramatic. The death of Joseph Reynolds was not only tragic but it was also highly dramatic. He was in a desert place, sixty miles from the nearest railroad when the final summons came. The malady was pneumonia, and he knew that he had not the constitution to withstand a serious attack, so far from a physician and medicines. A messenger was dispatched posthaste to Prescott to telegraph for a physician and a lawyer — the latter to draw his will. Storms and washouts delayed them several days. Reynolds had been dead thirty hours when they finally reached Prescott. The disease made rapid inroads upon his strength. His breathing became stertorous and difficult, and his voice failed. He realized that his end was near. He lay in a rude shack at the mouth of the Congress Mine, from which he had taken nearly a million dollars of his wealth. With him were his

mine superintendent, Pierce, and half a dozen other employees of the mine. His whole mind was centered upon the disposition of a part of his great wealth which he wished to go to some of his trusted employees, and to an educational trust which he had long had in mind — a training school for young men of limited means. The balance would go to his wife as the only heir in any event. The fear that his strength would not hold out until these wishes had been put in form was greater than any fear of death, which seemed not greatly to concern him. He started to dictate his wishes to Pierce, and named him as one of the beneficiaries. Pierce at first refused to assume so equivocal a part; but Reynolds insisted, and a will was drawn as the dying man desired. He seized a pen to sign it, but he was too weak. The name was but a scrawl. Then summoning all his remaining strength, and almost with his last breath, he called upon those who were in the hut to witness that the unsigned paper was his last will and testament, and fell back into the arms of his friend — dead. His body lies in Mount Hope Cemetery, Chicago, beside his wife and son. His labors are ended.

As illustrating the confidence placed in Reynolds' word by his business associates, the late Philip D. Armour of Chicago, in conversation with Capt. John Killeen, related the following incident that occurred in the former's private office. There had been a flurry in the money market that caused a shortage.

One day Reynolds came into the office, and Armour, surmising his errand and for the fun of anticipating his request, said at once: "Jo, can you lend me $50,000?"

Reynolds replied: "That is just what I came to you for. I never wanted money so badly in all my life."

"How much do you want?" asked Armour.

"I want $200,000," was the reply.

"I can let you have it," said Armour, and filled out

checks for the amount, taking Reynolds' personal notes in exchange.

Soon after Reynolds came back and threw a bundle of stock certificates on the desk, saying: "Phil, keep that until I pay back the money."

"Put that back in your safety box, Jo," said Armour. "But for the uncertainty of life your word would be enough for me. Were it not for that I would not accept your notes."

The bundle of stock certificates represented the entire value of the Hot Springs Railroad at that time.

Reynolds was something of a mechanic, and had chests of carpenter tools at several points where he thought he might have occasion to make anything needed, or do any odd job of "tinkering" that might be necessary. This tendency became so well known to his employees, both on the boats and on shore, that when any little thing needed attention they would remark: "Oh, let it alone until the 'old man' comes around"; and usually the first question he would ask when he did come was: "Well, what have you for me to do?" Illustrative of this trait, as well as showing the unostentatiousness of the man, the following story is related: One day while on board one of his steamers he went back to the carpenter shop and commenced making something that he saw was needed. An aristocratic Southerner, a passenger, happened below, and noticing Reynolds at work, engaged him in conversation.

On returning to the upper deck he said to the captain: "I have had a very pleasant chat with your old carpenter below decks. He seems rather an intelligent old fellow."

"Yes," said the captain, "he is somewhat intelligent. His name is Reynolds, commonly known as 'Diamond Jo.' He owns this line of steamboats, a railroad in Arkansas, numerous gold mines in Colorado and Ari-

zona, and is probably worth two or three million dollars."

He was not only respected but loved by his associates and employees. Capt. Fred A. Bill has this to say of him:

In many ways Mr. Reynolds was peculiar. He was very quiet and had little use for "society"; minded his own business and expected others to do likewise. He told very little of himself, and practically nothing of his early life, which was generally supposed to have been one of great hardship. He became rich and famous; made money rapidly, and when it was made it was easy to trace that it came from reasoning from cause to effect, and not from what is commonly called luck. While nearly always in debt it was his boast that he could generally pay his debts, if forced, within twenty-four hours. His word was his bond, and he had the unlimited confidence of those who knew him, and was always able to get credit that would enable him to embark in any enterprise he desired.[27]

[27] The following, from a letter received from A. G. Long, of Portland, Ore., a former employee of the Diamond Jo Line, affords an indication of the regard which the men working under him had for Reynolds: "As I write this little sketch there is on my desk a picture of Joseph Reynolds, that grand old character, who left his imprint upon — and who contributed so greatly to the development of — what was then called, in the seventies, 'The Northwest.' . . . Mr. Reynolds was a man who had peculiar traits, many of them most lovable, and I have been greatly influenced through my entire business career by lessons early learned from him. One of his characteristics was that when he found any man had wronged him in a business transaction he seldom made much fuss about it — in fact, would suffer a severe loss before he would take a case into the courts; but ever after, that particular person was 'down and out' with Diamond Jo Reynolds. In other words, he might be robbed or wronged one time, but never the second time by the same individual, and he made but little fuss about it the first time. The same in regard to his employees. If an employee was found guilty of a breach of trust he was usually allowed to drop out without any noise; but he was out good and hard forever after. Another feature of Diamond Jo's character was that he appointed a man to fill a place and looked to him for results. That is, he depended on the appointee's individuality and originality, without any special direction from himself. It always seemed to me that this policy developed the best there was in a man. There have been but few, if any, who have left such a name for probity and high integrity as Diamond Jo Reynolds; and those of us who were fortunate enough to be associated with him, revere his memory, and think of him as one of the grand char-

The writer of this history saw him but once. Standing in the pilot house of the "Mary Morton," lying at the levee at McGregor in the spring of 1882, Thomas Burns, the pilot, called his attention to a man sitting on a "snubbing-post" industriously engaged in cutting a big V in the timber with an evidently sharp and efficient jackknife. He spoke to no one, and did not appear to notice the boat at all. This was probably not the case. It was Burns's opinion that Reynolds had made a mental inventory of the appearance and condition of the boat, of the manner in which it had been handled in making the landing, and of the efficiency of the mate in getting the cargo on board; but he spoke to no one, and no one spoke to him while we were looking. "He is scheming," said Burns; and his thoughts may have been in Colorado or Arizona rather than in McGregor.

It will be remembered that the line organized by Capt. Peyton S. Davidson in 1880 had been withdrawn in the fall of 1882. William F. Davidson, president of the St. Louis & St. Paul Packet Company died at his home in St. Paul, May 26, 1887. The boats and other property of the company were sold to a syndicate consisting of Charles H. Petsch, the Ham Brewing Company, and others, by whom the service was continued for four years longer under the name of the St. Louis, St. Paul & Minneapolis Packet Company; but the loss of some of its best boats at last compelled its surrender, and at the close of the season of 1890 it, also, withdrew from the river. In the spring of 1891 the Diamond Jo Line bought one of the remaining boats, the "Gem City," [28] a fast side-

acters in the early history of the development of the upper Mississippi Valley."

[28] The "Gem City" was built at St. Louis in 1881 for W. F. Davidson's St. Louis & St. Paul Packet Company; 263 feet long, 29.8 feet beam, 5.6 feet hold; 756.37 tons; 4 boilers, each 30 feet long, 42 inches diameter, with 4 flues each; engines, said to have been those of the "Alex. Mitchell," 28 inches diameter by 7 feet stroke; stateroom accommodations for 298 passengers; cost $60,000. Ran in St. Louis and Keokuk trade. Bought

wheeler, together with all the warehouses and other property in the St. Louis–Keokuk trade, and the following year took over the "St. Paul," [29] another large and handsome side-wheeler, and the remaining property of the old line, including its warehouses between Keokuk and St. Paul. Thus the Diamond Jo Line was left the only organized steamboat line in operation on the upper river between St. Louis and St. Paul. To the conservatism as well as the zeal and energy of its founder and godfather, and the practical steamboat men whom he had gathered about him as advisers, this great success was due. The managers of other lines had displayed as great zeal and energy; but they had lacked the conservative element in their calculations. They had put their earnings into a dozen boats when the work might have been done with ten. They had been over-zealous, and over-optimistic. The life of a steamboat is brief at best. Before the river had been lighted and cleared from snags, wrecks, and other obstructions, four or five years was the limit of probabilities. Later this probability was doubled; but the possibility of loss was ever present. The Diamond Jo Company bought boats only as it had use for them, and by selling the older and smaller boats while they were yet salable and buying new and larger ones to meet its increasing business, it was able to declare dividends, and to outlive all of its rivals, maintaining itself longer than any other line that ever operated on the Mississippi, either on the upper or lower river.

At the annual meeting held at McGregor, Mar. 19,

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by Diamond Jo Line, 1891, thoroughly overhauled and refitted at a cost of $10,000 and run in the same trade, with Capt. William Burke as master. Rebuilt at Dubuque, winter of 1895, and rechristened "Quincy."

[29] The "St. Paul" (old) was 300 feet long, 36.3 feet beam, 6.2 feet hold, 833.53 tons; built at St. Louis in 1883, for W. F. Davidson's St. Louis & St. Paul Packet Company, and run in the St. Louis and Keokuk trade. Bought by Diamond Jo Line, 1892, and placed in same trade. Capt. John Killeen was master in 1894 and 1895. Rebuilt at Dubuque, 1903.

1891, following the death of Reynolds, E. M. Dickey, John Killeen, and Fred A. Bill were elected directors; E. M. Dickey was elected president; John Killeen, vice-president, and Fred A. Bill, secretary and treasurer. Subsequently the following general officers were appointed: John Killeen, superintendent; Fred A. Bill, general passenger and freight agent; A. L. Dawley,[30] cashier; Isaac P. Lusk, assistant superintendent and general agent at St. Louis. The line then consisted of three boats, which were ready to be put in commission at the opening of navigation — the "Pittsburg," Capt. John Killeen; the "Sidney," Capt. William Boland; and the "Mary Morton," Capt. L. H. Cubberly. Dickey having been appointed one of the administrators of the estate (with Mrs. Reynolds), making it necessary for him to remove to Chicago, the management of the steamboat line devolved for the time being upon the other officers. This arrangement continued until 1893, when Fred A. Bill was sent to Hot Springs in the interest of the Reynolds estate, to look after the affairs of the short-line railroad,

[30] Albert L. Dawley, for many years a popular clerk in the employ of the Minnesota Packet Company and its successors, was born in 1851, at LeClaire, Iowa, and began his steamboating days in the year 1865 as newsboy on the "Bill Henderson," running between Davenport and Dubuque. After sixteen years of river experience he entered the employ of the Diamond Jo Line in 1881 as second clerk on the steamer "Josie," and from there in 1882 went to the "Libbie Conger" as chief clerk. In 1883 he was clerk of the "Sidney." In the spring of 1884 he quit the river to engage in the wholesale notion business; but after one year returned to the river as clerk, serving on the "Libbie Conger" and "Mary Morton," and having in the meantime received his master's certificate he served some time as captain. In 1888 he went into the general offices of the company at Dubuque as bookkeeper, where he remained until the offices were removed to St. Louis, in 1895, when he went with the office, being the only one of the office force who was moved to St. Louis. He remained there until the line was sold to the Streckfus Steamboat Company in 1911, when he resigned, having served the Diamond Jo Company twenty-five years — twenty-three of which were continuous service. He is living at his old home in LeClaire, and during the season of 1913 was clerk of the White Collar Steamer "Morning Star," Capt. Walter A. Blair.

of which he was named manager, general passenger and freight agent, auditor, and local treasurer, all of which positions he filled for the next nine years, at the same time continuing as a director in the steamboat company.

Mrs. Reynolds died in August, 1895, leaving the whole of her estate, amounting to several millions, to her brother, Jay Morton, of Rockland, New York. Morton came to Chicago and assumed control of the property. At the annual election held at the company's offices in Dubuque, Mar. 2, 1896, Jay Morton was elected president; John Killeen, superintendent, and Isaac P. Lusk, general passenger and freight agent. The president's office was to be in Chicago; the office of the superintendent at Dubuque; while Lusk had his offices at St. Louis, with A. L. Dawley as his assistant and cashier. Dawley had been acting as secretary and treasurer from the time F. A. Bill was transferred to Hot Springs in 1893.

The boats of the line at this time — 1893 — were the "Mary Morton," the "Sidney," the "Pittsburg," the "Gem City," and the "St. Paul." With them service was maintained between St. Louis and Keokuk without material change until 1895, when the "Mary Morton" was sold to St. Louis parties.

The following year witnessed the greatest disaster sustained by the company during its existence, yet by miraculous good fortune it was without loss of life to passengers or employees. The "Pittsburg" had been given a new hull in the winter of 1895-96, and had just entered upon the season's work in the run between St. Louis and St. Paul when she was wrecked in the great cyclone that swept through the city of St. Louis, May 27, 1896. The story of the storm is thus graphically told by Capt. James P. Boland, master of the "Pittsburg" at the time:

In telling the story of my experience in this great storm I am reminded of another one which occurred some eight years

previous, in 1888, when I was mate on the "Chas. P. Chouteau," Capt. William Thorwegan, which may be of interest at this time.

We laid up at the "log pound," as it is called, at St. Louis. There were two men with me on the "Chouteau," the engineer, Henry Waltz, and the watchman, John Moynahan. We had the boat well fast, with eight or ten good lines; but when the storm struck us, at about eleven o'clock at night, she went out into the river as though not fastened at all. I was in bed in the Texas [31] at the time, and, the night being warm, I was not overly clad. Without waiting to put on any clothes I rushed for the pilot house; but before reaching there my head and shoulders were so badly cut by the hail that I could not lie on my back for some days thereafter. The boat answered her rudders the moment I turned the wheel, and I headed her for the Illinois shore. The water was high and the bank flat, and her momentum was so great that she went over the bank, and hard aground back to her boilers. It took three tugs two or three days to get her back into the river. During this storm the steamers "Champion," "Blue Lodge," "Dick Wood," and

[31] The name applied to the small cabins found on most passenger boats on the Mississippi River and tributaries, upon which the pilot house is superimposed, in which the officers of the boat are usually quartered. This title is said to have originated about the year 1845, when a loyal citizen of the republic conceived the idea of giving the staterooms in the new steamboat he was building the names of the several states instead of the conventional numbers. His boat had twenty-eight staterooms in the cabin, to which he applied the names of the states in the order in which they were admitted to the Union. When he finished he found that the name of the latest commonwealth — Texas — was left over, and this name he promptly applied to the officers' cabin on the roof.

Captain Killeen supplies (in a letter dated Dec. 17, 1915) a different explanation of the origin of the name. It sets forth that in early days the meat supply for New Orleans and other southern cities was driven to Louisiana and Mississippi by Texas cowboys. They usually left New Orleans under the influence of liquor and made so much trouble that one of the boat owners built a shanty on top of his boat and stipulated with the Texans who wished to secure passage with him that they must occupy the quarters thus provided, where their quarrels could be fought out without disturbing the other passengers or the crew. "This occurred," concludes Captain Killeen, "before my day on the river. If I had had the naming of it I would probably have called it Pittsburgh, as the Pittsburgh coal-boat men were the wildest lot that I have ever seen on a steamboat anywhere."

"Bright Light" were lost. At the same time there were several boats lying at the Arsenal that were not injured at all.

I was in command of the "Pittsburg" in 1896. We arrived in St. Louis on the morning of May 25th. The "Pittsburg" had recently been thoroughly overhauled — in fact her hull had practically been rebuilt, and she was in first-class shape. Our regular time to leave was on May 26 at 4 P. M.; but under orders we were held over until the 28th. Early in the morning of the 27th there were indications of a storm, and when the signal service telephoned its caution I asked Mr. Lusk, the general agent, and in charge in St. Louis, to get a tug to take the "Pittsburg" to the Arsenal, my former experience convincing me that that place was the most secure of any around St. Louis, and we were all convinced that a storm of more than ordinary proportions was coming. Unfortunately, as it proved, Mr. Lusk did not accept my suggestion.

When the storm first struck us the "Pittsburg" and wharf boats were blown up on the levee; but in a second of time the wind changed and swept everything out into the river. As the "Pittsburg" and wharf boat went out they struck the "Dolphin No. 2," turning her over and passing over her. This tore the guard off the "Pittsburg's" hull, broke the cylinder timbers and let her wheel down. As I remember, about 165 feet of the starboard guard was torn away. On this guard were about eighty tons of freight, mostly pig iron, barrels of whisky, and carboys of sal soda, all of which went into the river. Shortly after this accident old Dan Sauer, the carpenter, and as faithful and efficient a man as ever trod the deck of a steamboat, who had taken his post of duty in the hold of the "Pittsburg," reported that she was leaking badly, caused by her listing badly to the starboard side. I at once started the few men who had remained with us to throwing the freight on the larboard side overboard. Mr. Lusk, the general agent, who was on the wharf boat when the storm struck, got aboard the boat and joined with the rest of us in throwing the cargo overboard to lighten ship. When this freight was off she righted and the leak was materially lessened. About this time, to add to the excitement and danger, the "Pittsburg" caught fire at the cook-house. This was extinguished by Mr. Beyer, steward of the boat, with the help of

the porter and a few other colored men who had stuck to the boat, and who worked faithfully and well. Tom Stead, the second mate, Ed. Dougherty, the second clerk, and three or four others jumped overboard when the storm first struck us, and swam ashore.

I had the wharf boat cut loose from the "Pittsburg" as we were passing Pittsburg Dyke. I knew she would go into the eddy, which she did, and the two men left on board of her made her fast as she struck the shore. The "Pittsburg" ran into a ferryboat about this time, but no special damage was done. The steamer "Libbie Conger" was just ahead of us and to our right. I saw her go down head first, about a mile below the bridge and about abreast of the Arsenal wall. The river was full of boats, barges, and wreckage of all kinds. We were rapidly floating downstream, and when abreast of Arsenal Island we found the steamer "John Dippold" tied there. As we passed her, Maurice Killeen, first clerk, a colored porter, and myself jumped overboard with a hawser and managed to get it ashore and made fast to a good tree. Steward Billy Byers and the colored porter handled the hawser on board, and snubbed the "Pittsburg" in to the bank after we went overboard with it, under directions I gave them before we left the boat. After some difficulty we got the "Pittsburg" landed, and the passengers and such of the crew as wished to leave were taken aboard the "John Dippold," which was lying at the bank partially dismantled; but her cabin afforded much better shelter than we had, as the only part of the "Pittsburg's" upper works not wholly destroyed was the laundry, and the chambermaid's room, aft. Miss Clara Freymark, stenographer on the wharf boat, was wet and cold, having jumped overboard when the "Pittsburg" landed, but was rescued by myself. She was determined to jump overboard again, and as we did not have time to watch her I tied her to a stanchion. We had ten passengers on board — two families named Tinkham, bound for Read's Landing, and an old man with two daughters from Beardstown, Illinois. These had been received before orders came to hold the boat over for two days. They preferred to stay with us rather than have their money refunded. About midnight the tug "Susie Hazzard," Capt. Jim Good in command, was passing

downstream. I hailed him, and at first he refused to come in; but when I told him we had some ladies with us, and that some of them were injured and needed medical attention, he came in and took us all back to St. Louis. Mrs. Tinkham had a leg hurt in the wreck of the cabin.

The following boats were either badly wrecked or totally lost in this cyclone: "Arkansas City," "Benton," "Cherokee," "City of Monroe," "City of Vicksburg," "Dolphin No. 2," "J. M. Curr," "Libbie Conger," "Pittsburg," "Quincy," (a small stern-wheeler), two Wiggins ferryboats, two tugs, and several other boats the names of which I do not now recall. The steamer "Henry Lowrey" lay at the foot of Market Street, and was the only boat not blown loose or damaged.

Our wharf boat was taken away from the Illinois shore where she lay, the second day after the storm, but the "Pittsburg" remained where we landed her for four days. We stripped her wheel, and on the third morning after the storm the United States steamer "Gen. Barnard" picked up her shaft and placed it on the forecastle. On the fourth day the "Barnard," with the help of a tug, towed the "Pittsburg" back to St. Louis. Two days later the "Josephine" arrived at St. Louis with orders from Supt. John Killeen for me to take the "Pittsburg" to U. S. dry dock at Keokuk, have her chains and hog-chain braces put in shape, and then take her to Dubuque. This was done, and the boat was at once rebuilt and christened "Dubuque." After delivering the "Pittsburg" at Dubuque I returned to St. Louis and completed the season on the "St. Paul," in the St. Louis and Keokuk trade.

Captain Boland relates his further experiences on the rechristened "Dubuque," and the circumstances attending the last days of his service with the Diamond Jo Line Steamers. He says:

When the "Dubuque" was completed in the spring of 1897 I was placed in command of her, and we started out about the last of April in the St. Louis and St. Paul trade. All went well until some time in the month of August. In coming downstream, with a good passenger trip, through the Winona bridge, with Levi Williams, one of the best of pilots at the wheel, she struck the bridge with terrific force, knocking a hole in her hull.

We beached her directly opposite the city of Winona, and she went down in six feet of water. We at once reported the accident to the Dubuque office, and reshipped the passengers by rail.

With the help of the carpenter, George Rich, and the mate, Michael Murphy, I found the break, which was about twenty-two feet long and from five to twelve inches wide. We patched the hole, without the assistance of a diver, by getting into the water and staying long enough to drive a spike at a time. This was a pretty hard task, and we were all pretty well exhausted when it was completed. Through the kindness of Capt. Sam Van Sant we got the use of the steamer "Thistle," and after getting up steam on the "Dubuque" pumped her out and started down the river. En route down we met, on the train, an outfit of tackle and divers coming up to raise her. We reached the ways at Eagle Point, Dubuque, in thirty-six hours after she struck the bridge.

This was my last work for the Diamond Jo Line Steamers. Almost immediately after arriving at Dubuque I was paid off, for no reason that I was able to learn, except that I was successful in raising the "Dubuque" too quickly, thus entailing needless expense in sending the wrecking outfit up the river. Certainly it was not for sinking the boat, for no one could be blamed for that, it being one of the unavoidable accidents incident to river navigation. My period of service with the Diamond Jo Line Steamers covered about twenty-five years.

On May 26, 1901, the "Dubuque" was snagged and sunk a few miles above Oquawka. This accident illustrates better than any other that occurred to the Diamond Jo Line the danger at all times besetting the Mississippi River steamboat, and which has caused at least three-fourths of the wrecks on western rivers since the advent of steam as a propelling power. The following account of the sinking of the "Dubuque" is taken greatly abbreviated, from the Burlington *Gazette* of May 27, 1901:

The large and magnificent steamer "Dubuque" of the Diamond Jo Line Steamers struck a sunken stump in the main channel of the river at a point five miles above Oquawka at exactly 6:30 last night, and sank in eight feet of water within thirty seconds. So swift and sudden was the catastrophe that it was all

over before a panic could ensue among the passengers, and the big steamer that a minute before had been the pride of the Diamond Jo Line rested on the bed of the river, with the hull a broken mass of timbers.

The passengers were at dinner and Capt. Michael J. Murphy had just arisen from his seat at the head of the table, when a terrific shock was felt, and a grinding, crushing noise arose. Then the big liner settled down into the water, which covered the lower deck amidships to a depth of two to four feet. At the first crash Engineer Frank Good shut off steam, and with his firemen ran for the stairway leading to the boiler deck. The two score of negro roustabouts perched on piles of freight sprang with desperate fear to the sides of the boat and climbed like monkeys up the outside stanchions to the boiler deck above.

The passengers behaved in a sensible manner, and except for several ladies who were hysterical, there was no indication of a panic, and Captain Murphy and other officers of the boat were able to convince them that there was not the slightest danger. The big boat did not travel half its length after striking the stump before sinking, and now lies straight north and south, with a slight list to starboard, about seventy-five yards from the Illinois shore.

Clearing away one of the "Dubuque's" small boats, Chief Clerk Maurice Killeen was rowed down the river five miles to Oquawka, where he telephoned the news of the disaster to Agent Frank B. Hopkins, at Burlington, and wired to Capt. John Killeen, general manager of the line at Dubuque, and to Isaac P. Lusk, general agent at St. Louis.

Clerk Killeen learned at Oquawka that the steamer "W. J. Young" was at New Boston, where it had stopped as usual on the down trip for the night. He telephoned to Capt. Walter A. Blair for assistance, and the latter started down the river at once to the scene of the wreck. The "W. J. Young" arrived at the wreck at 1:30 A. M., and the forty-six passengers who had spent the intervening hours in the boat's cabin, were taken by the "Young" and brought to Burlington, arriving here at 5:30, A. M., where they were looked after by Agent Hopkins, who attended to their comfort, and they departed by train for St. Louis.

Pilot Levi Williams, an old-time steamboat man, and one whose reputation for skill and carefulness has never been questioned, was at the wheel when the "Dubuque" struck. The point is at a bend one mile north of Johnson's Island, and the channel runs close to the Illinois shore. The boat was running at a high speed when it struck a sunken stump at a point in the hull on the port side, just forward of the boilers. A great ragged hole was torn entirely through the hull for a distance of 142 feet, and some six feet wide, through which the water poured in as a flood, sinking the boat in less than one minute. It is believed that the hull is damaged beyond repair, and it is doubtful if the "Dubuque" can be raised. In this case the boat is practically a total loss. The opening runs diagonally through the boat to the starboard side. She is valued at $50,000. General Manager John Killeen will arrive at the wreck this afternoon and will determine whether it is practicable to raise the sunken steamer.

Captain Killeen, upon arrival at the wreck, with the aid of his divers, decided that it would be possible to raise the vessel. Tools, machinery, and material were brought from the yard at Dubuque, and within thirty-eight days the big boat was on the ways at the Dubuque shipyard. A description of the manner of raising her may prove of interest to the layman. Ordinarily in the case of a small break, especially if it is on the side of the hull, it is possible to patch it from the outside, and by bulkheading the boat it is a short job to pump her out and float her. In the case of the "Dubuque," with a six-foot rent reaching over half the length of the ship, this was impossible; and in order to save her resort was had to the more expensive and slower coffer-dam process. In response to a request Captain Killeen has supplied the following explanation of the method of procedure employed:

In regard to placing a bulkhead around a break, for example ten feet long and two feet wide. The first thing to do is to send a diver down to clear away around the break. Then

spike a two-by-eight the length of the break, and away from the break some four or six inches. In from that twelve or fourteen inches spike another two-by-eight. Do the same on the other side of the break. Then on the inside of these newly placed floor stringers place two-by-ten or two-by-twelve grub-planks, on end, all the way around the break. Use floor timbers at the end of the break for stringers. These grub-planks must be carried above the water. In case the water goes above the deck, the opening in the deck must be made a neat fit so that the deck will brace the plank. These planks must be fitted around the floor timbers. Now we have the two tiers of plank reaching above the water all around the break. These planks should be well braced with side-stringers and shores. The next thing is to hunt up a good clay, and fill up the ten or twelve inches between the two lines of grub-planks. This should be extended a little above the water-line. That will stop any leak from the break. Then place a bulkhead around the boat. On a stern-wheel boat the stern bulkhead and the side bulkheads are used for that purpose. Next stop all leaks about the rudders, siphon, and blow-off pipes. Then canvas around on the outside of the bulkhead. I generally place the suction from the pump at the after end of the boilers. Just as soon as the pump starts throwing it draws the canvas up to the bulkheads, and if the work is done well there will be little trouble. I have never had a bulkhead constructed in this way that failed me. As an example of such work I will mention the steamer "Quincy," sunk above Trempealeau. The water was almost up to the top of her side-house; yet we raised her with a little ten-inch pump in four hours.

The "Dubuque" was thoroughly repaired and was back in service in September, 1901. With four boats the Diamond Jo Line continued to run out of St. Louis, covering both the Keokuk run and the St. Paul run with a weekly service. In 1903 the "St. Paul" — old, was rebuilt at the Dubuque shipyard and continued to run under the same name, although very materially changed as to shape of hull and cabin arrangement for the better accommodation of the passenger trade to which the line

particularly catered. In 1906 the "Gem City" was dismantled at Dubuque and rebuilt as the "Quincy."

The history of the line may be briefly stated so far as the following years of its service are concerned. Jay Morton continued as president, John Killeen, general manager, and Isaac P. Lusk as general freight and passenger agent. Four boats were in service every season until 1911, when the property of the line was sold to the Streckfus Steamboat Company. The boats thus transferred were the side-wheel steamers "St. Paul" and "Quincy," and the stern-wheel steamers "Sidney" and "Dubuque," all as fine boats as ever operated on the river above St. Louis. In the transfer to the Streckfus Company were included these four boats, the wharf boat at St. Louis, the shipyard at Dubuque, and all the warehouses and other property along the river between St. Louis and St. Paul, the name alone excepted. This title was retained; and whenever in the future historians shall mention the Diamond Jo Line the name will recall the man whose genius built it up from the day of small beginnings in 1862, when the little "Lansing" was built, through all the years that witnessed so many changes in upper-river steamboat ownership, until, at the end of half a century, it remained the only organized steamboat line between St. Louis and St. Paul. Its title and its history constitute the greatest monument that can be erected to the memory of its founder — "Diamond Jo" Reynolds.

RURAL LIFE IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY ABOUT 1803

By William O. Scroggs

Early in the nineteenth century, when it became known that Napoleon had regained the province of Louisiana from Spain and had determined to revive the French colonial empire in the Western World, the newly restored territory became an object of lively interest to the people of France. As a result, soon after the treaty of retrocession became known a number of French travelers came to Louisiana to study the people and the natural resources, and to record the results of their observations for the enlightenment of their countrymen in Europe. Through the eyes of these travelers we may now get a more or less accurate view of the civilization of the lower Mississippi Valley in the last hours of its domination by European influences and just before the process of its Americanization had begun. The unique social life of the city of New Orleans at this time has already been portrayed by various writers,[1] and at times in considerable detail; but for some reason the manners and customs of the people dwelling outside the limits of this municipality, though equally distinctive and interesting, have received hardly a passing glance from the historian. From such statistics as we have it appears that in 1803 the population of New Orleans was about one-fifth of the total number of inhabitants then dwelling on the Mississippi and its tributaries below the settlements at Natchez. Any description, therefore, of the civilization

[1] See George W. Cable, *The Creoles of Louisiana*, 135-140; John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, III, 15 ff.

of the lower Valley, which overlooks the rural population, is necessarily incomplete. It is for the purpose of filling this hiatus that this paper has been prepared.

In 1803 there were twenty distinct zones of rural settlements within the limits of the present state of Louisiana. Two of these districts — Balize, or the Lower Coast, and St. Bernard, or Terre aux Boeufs — lay below the city of New Orleans. The first of these, with a population of about 2,500, of whom one-half were slaves, included all the settlements below the city on both banks of the river. The St. Bernard district consisted of settlements along the bayou for which it was named, extending eastward from English Turn toward the Gulf coast. Its inhabitants, estimated at about 600, consisted for the most part of colonists from the Canary Islands. Between New Orleans and Lake Pontchartrain lay a third district, designated as Bayou St. John, in which there were between four and five hundred inhabitants.

Leaving New Orleans and proceeding up the river, the traveler would first pass through the section known as the Upper Coast, or Chapitoulas, which lay along both banks for a distance of fifteen miles. The population of this region then consisted mainly of slaves, whose masters dwelt in the city. Above the Upper Coast, for about ten miles on both banks, lay the so-called First German Coast (sometimes termed the St. Charles Coast) and adjoining this and extending fifteen miles further up the river lay the Second German Coast (or Coast of St. John the Baptist).[2] The earliest settlers in these two districts were Germans who had migrated to America at the instigation of John Law and had established themselves at first upon the banks of the Arkansas River, but after Law's downfall they abandoned their holdings there and had secured permission to settle on the lower

[2] These and other districts in southern Louisiana were sometimes designated by the ecclesiastical names that had been bestowed on church parishes within their limits.

Mississippi just above New Orleans. The Germans were very industrious and soon came to play the rôle of purveyors to the city, furnishing the urban population with vegetables, fruits, wild fowl, and fish. It was their custom every Friday evening to load their pirogues with their produce and float with the current to the city, where on Saturdays they would hold a market along the river front.[3] There was also a large French element among the inhabitants of the German Coasts, but the Germans showed a tendency to resist assimilation. They preserved their language and customs, and though having none of the open and affable disposition of the French, they are described as being very honest and kind and hospitable to strangers. They owned few slaves, did their own field work, and lived comfortably without acquiring great wealth.[4] The two German Coasts in 1803 contained about 5,000 inhabitants.

Above the German Coasts were two districts known as the First and Second Acadian Coasts, each of which extended along both banks of the river for a distance of about eighteen miles.[5] The first of these comprised a population in 1803 of about 2,500 and the second a population of about 1,200. They derived the name Acadian from their first settlers, refugees from the province of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, who after their expulsion from Canada in 1755 eventually found their way to their compatriots in Louisiana. After settling in this territory they gradually spread to the neighboring bayous, and today their descendants are found in every part of southern and central Louisiana.

Above the Second Acadian Coast, as far north as the

[3] N. Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, 38.

[4] C. C. Robin, *Voyages dans l'Interieur de la Louisiane*, II, 239; Perrin du Lac, *Travels Through the Two Louisianas*, 86.

[5] The first Acadian Coast was also designated as Catahanosé or Cabahanocé, and the second Acadian Coast as Lafourche de Chetimachas.

Iberville River, was the district of Iberville, which took its name from the stream. Strictly speaking, the Iberville was not a river, but merely a spillway for the Mississippi at high water. Its bed was dry for a good part of the year, but when the Mississippi rose and poured its waters into this depression the Iberville became a considerable stream and helped to form the Island of New Orleans, so frequently mentioned in the diplomatic correspondence of this period. The Iberville constituted part of the boundary between Louisiana and West Florida. The district of Iberville contained in 1797 a population of 1,110, of whom 314 were slaves. Farther east, near the junction of the Iberville and Amite rivers, lay the small Spanish settlement of Galveztown, comprising some 250 people.[6] This village was destined soon to be almost entirely abandoned, as its Spanish population, on hearing of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, moved in a body off the Island of New Orleans and took up lands in the vicinity of the Spanish fort at Baton Rouge, hoping thus to remain under the flag of their mother country. The area upon which they settled now lies within the limits of the city of Baton Rouge, and to this day is designated as "Spanish Town."

The district above the Iberville on the east bank and extending to the American boundary line was designated under the Spanish régime as "the government of Baton Rouge." On the first bluffs of the Mississippi was a small fort garrisoned by Spanish soldiers, and in the vicinity was a sparse population of various nationalities, French, Spanish, and Anglo-American. Included within this jurisdiction were the settlements of Thompson's Creek and Bayou Sara. Here for the first time the settlements on the east of the river extended a considerable

[6] James A. Robertson, in his *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, I, 307, makes the amusing error of confusing this settlement with Galveston, Texas.

distance back from the banks. In this section in 1803 cotton plantations were springing up rapidly.[7]

Above the Iberville district on the west bank of the Mississippi was the district of Pointe Coupée, or False River. This section was then regarded as one of the wealthiest in the province.[8] Its upper portion, however, appears to have been inhabited by the poorest type of Acadians.[9] The fact that the slaves in Pointe Coupée were three times as numerous as the whites would indicate the existence of a planter aristocracy, even if we did not have the testimony of travelers to this effect. The traveler found in Pointe Coupée better manners, more dignity and display, more pleasure-seeking, and more rustling of finery, than in the other river settlements. A certain exclusiveness, in marked contrast to the pioneer democracy of other sections, was noted.[10] The planter who owned a hundred negroes disdained to associate, on equal terms, with the man who had only fifty, and the latter in turn held himself above the man who owned still less. Nevertheless, pride did not interfere with hospitality. There was no tavern in the district, for the hospitality of the people made such an establishment unnecessary. The bounty and variety upon his host's table astonished the traveler, who expected much less in such a remote community. Spacious and well-constructed dwellings, fine gardens, and large enclosures gave this region an air of prosperity not found in the settlements farther down the river. As the negroes far outnumbered the French — there being over 1,600 slaves in 1791 and only 547 whites — the latter were accustomed to keep a close watch on the cabins and to ride the patrol.

[7] *Mémoires sur la Louisiane, par M. Perrin du Lac*, 85; Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and in Florida in the Year 1802, Translated from the French by John Davis*, 166; Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 242.

[8] Henry M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, 178.

[9] Perrin du Lac, *op. cit.*, 86.

[10] "L'orgueil isole chacun de ses voisins." Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 242.

The planters of Pointe Coupée carried on considerable trade with the Americans on the other side of the river. From them they purchased practically everything they needed, including slaves, which they usually obtained on long-term credit. The traders took as payment the produce of the plantations, especially indigo, peltry, bear's oil, salted meat, and cattle. Peddlers, known as "coasters," also came up the river by boat from New Orleans, their pirogues loaded with sugar, coffee, tafia, crockery, muslins, woolens, handkerchiefs, and linens. Their wares were of mediocre quality but were offered at reasonable prices on account of the competition between the numerous traders. The boatmen bartered their goods for anything that they could sell in the city, such as hides, tallow, meal, corn, rice, poultry, and eggs, and stealthily traded with the slaves as well as with the masters. The latter constantly complained that their slaves stole whatever they could get and exchanged it with the boatmen for things to eat, drink, or wear. The favored slaves, however, were allowed to have some corn and pigs of their own, and were thus able to trade on their own account. In addition to the coasters, there were the land peddlers with horse carts or with packs on their backs, carrying a varied assortment of merchandise and trinkets. In the remote rural settlements the traders performed a real service by bringing goods from the city to the door of the habitant and affording him some sort of a market for his produce.[11]

On the right bank of the river there were very few settlers between Pointe Coupée and the mouth of the Arkansas, as the intervening area was subject to serious inundations. West of the Mississippi, however, numerous settlements had sprung up along the other rivers and the more important bayous. Here the inhabitants were of quite a different type from those dwelling upon the

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 242-254.

banks of the Father of Waters. The settlements were separated by vast tracts of wilderness, and the streams furnished the only means of communication. Small Acadian farmers, known along the coast as *petits habitants*, settled thickly along Bayou Lafourche.[12] This district was known as Valenzuela de la Fourche, and in 1803 it contained about 2,800 inhabitants, of whom less than 400 were slaves. In this respect the settlements west of the Mississippi showed a marked contrast to those along its banks. The total numbers of whites, and blacks in the river settlements were approximately equal, while in all the western communities, except Natchitoches, the negroes were greatly outnumbered by the whites. Bayou Lafourche was lined with farms, only one deep, along its banks for a distance of forty miles, and in 1803 cotton was rapidly becoming the staple crop.

Along the Bayous Teche and Vermilion another zone of settlements sprang up. This region was called the Attakapas country, after the tribe of aborigines who had once occupied it. Indian traders frequented this district as early as 1750, and about two decades later the provincial authorities colonized the country with newly arrived Acadian refugees. The inhabitants of the Attakapas country numbered, according to the census of 1803, 3,746, of whom 2,270 were whites, 1,266 were slaves and 210 were free persons of color. Cattle-raising was the chief industry. The animals were left largely to themselves and were allowed to stray in the woods or on the prairies, where they multiplied rapidly but showed a tendency to degenerate. To this day the term "Attakapas" is used in various parts of southern Louisiana to designate the scrub stock that roves in the woods and on the prairies. Very few of the Attakapas farmers knew the number of cattle they owned, and they usually made an effort to round them up and count them only at inter-

[12] Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, 178.

vals of two or three years. Many cattle were lost every winter, when vegetation was sparse; and forest fires also did much damage to live stock. The slaves were owned by the planter class, who constituted a very small part of the population. The small farmers worked their own fields, aided by their wives and children, and each household was practically self-sustaining. The channel of the Teche was badly obstructed with the trunks of fallen trees, which rendered navigation difficult in periods of low water and made the exportation of the chief products of this region — cattle and hides — too expensive to be profitable. The Attakapas people were thus thrown largely upon their own resources, but the bounty of nature was conducive to a life of leisure. In spite of the large herds of cattle, milk and butter were rarely seen, and the Acadians would go for months without tasting either. This was attributed by Robin to "the great indolence of the inhabitants." "With us," he says, "men entice nature; but here nature entices men." [13]

Immediately north of the Attakapas country was the district known as Opelousas. It was somewhat more elevated, better drained and more salubrious than the Attakapas country, and the chief industry here was also cattle-raising. Some of the more prosperous inhabitants branded over a thousand head every year.[14] A census enumeration of 1797 gives the population of the Opelousas district as 2,427, of whom 781 were slaves and 103 were free persons of color. A considerable English-speaking element had already entered this region. About seventy-five miles northwest of the Opelousas settlements lay the district along the Red River known as Rapides with about 800 inhabitants, about one-fourth of whom was slaves. Adjoining this district on the east was the district of Avoyelles, with some 300 whites and 100 slaves.

[13] Robin, *op. cit.*, 30-36.

[14] Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, 297.

The two Acadian coasts and the districts of La Fourche, Pointe Coupée, Attakapas, Opelousas, Rapides, and Avoyelles were settled, as already indicated, by Canadian exiles, who formed an element of the population quite distinct from those who came directly from France. The descendants of the latter are today designated as Creoles, while the descendants of the former are still called Acadians, a term which in conversation is often corrupted into "Cajan."[15] The Creoles, being the first arrivals, had the choice of the most desirable parts of the province and established their plantations within convenient distance of the capital upon the clean, smooth banks of the Mississippi, whose waters were always open to navigation and gave them easy access to the city's markets. From New Orleans as far up the stream as the head of Bayou Lafourche (the present town of Donaldsonville) both banks of the river presented an unbroken chain of plantations fronting upon the waters and extending backward for a depth of about one-half a French league. A similar chain of smaller farms was found upon the Lafourche for a distance of about forty miles. Between the Lafourche and Pointe Coupée the line of plantations ceased to be continuous, and there were tracts of unoccupied lands between them. In 1802 Berquin-Duvallon, in ascending the river for five leagues above New Orleans, counted seventy houses, forty being on the right bank and thirty on the left.[16] As the traveler proceeded up the river the rural dwellings, which just above the city were at times rather imposing, became smaller and less pretentious. The homes of the sugar planters were sometimes constructed of brick and flanked with columns; but as a rule the houses were built of heavy timbers, the interstices being filled with clay and the whole covered with whitewash. All houses had galleries,

[15] Many Acadians naturally object to the use of the corrupt form of the word.

[16] Berquin-Duvallon, *op. cit.*, 127.

which were a necessity in the warm climate. The galleries were formed by an extension of the roof, which usually was supported by a row of columns, and they not only shaded the house from the rays of the sun but served in warm weather as a place for entertaining company and even for eating and sleeping. The cabins for the slaves were constructed of cypress logs, the spaces between which were filled with clay mixed with Spanish moss to give it better binding qualities. Many houses were raised several feet from the ground, the better ones standing on brick pillars and the others on trunks of large trees. Raised houses were cooler, and were thought to have fewer mosquitoes than those which were not elevated. It was no uncommon thing among the Acadians to see a house in whose structure there was no iron or other metal. Not a nail had been used, and even the locks, bolts, and keys would be of wood. Carts were also made without iron, their parts being held together with wooden pegs and strips of rawhide.

Very few of the settlers secured their lands by direct grant from the Crown. Most of the holdings were obtained by concessions from the officials of the province, given sometimes orally and sometimes in writing. It was said that during the Spanish régime any man who desired to obtain a tract of land had only to secure the verbal permission of the authorities to occupy it, and that the vague rights thus acquired might be transmitted by inheritance or even seized for debt.[17] As a result, clear titles could be shown to barely one-fourth of the lands. The river planters usually designated the size of their holdings as so many "arpents front" (*arpents de face*). An "arpent front" was a tract of one arpent upon the river bank extending backward so as to include a total area of forty arpents.[18] The plantations along the

[17] *Mémoires sur la Louisiane*, 99-102.

[18] The arpent is still used to designate land areas in Louisiana. Its area is about .85 of the English acre. A plantation of "twenty arpents

Mississippi ranged in size from five to twenty-five arpents front, or from 200 to 1,000 arpents.[19] The smaller holdings along the German and Acadian Coasts consisted of two or three arpents front.[20]

The Acadian country had a life of its own, and its inhabitants created varying impressions upon the Frenchmen who visited the region just before the Louisiana Purchase. Robin calls them "good people" (*bonnes gens*), who display none of the energy of the European in their labor because they feel no pressing need. On the other hand, Berquin-Duvallon, who is bitterly prejudiced, says that they are "rude and sluggish, without ambition, living miserably on their sorry plantations, where they cultivate Indian corn, raise pigs, and get children. Around their houses one sees nothing but hogs, and before their doors great rustic boys and big strapping girls, stiff as bars of iron, gaping for want of thought, or something to do, at the stranger who is passing."[21] Perrin du Lac says that "they seem to have remained in the same mediocrity in which they were when they first arrived in this colony. Their houses seem rather designed for the abode of animals than men; and their children, badly clothed, attract very little attention of their parents."[22]

All these writers are in agreement concerning the almost universal illiteracy. As the Acadians were descendants of ignorant peasants from Normandy, Poitou, Brittany, Aunis, and Picardy, their innocence of book-lore should not be surprising. Each isolated community, too, without the assimilating influence of the school or

front" would thus have an area of 800 arpents, or 680 acres, slightly more than a square mile.

[19] *An Account of Louisiana, Being an Abstract of Documents in the Offices of the Department of State and of the Treasury* (Washington, 1803).

[20] Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 240.

[21] Berquin-Duvallon, *op. cit.*, 78.

[22] Perrin du Lac, *op. cit.*, 86.

printing press, tended to develop a dialect of its own, so that even today we may hear in one village words and terms that are unintelligible to the people in another settlement only a few miles distant.[23]

Though ignorant, and in the presence of strangers noncommunicative and diffident, the Acadians were noted for their simple hospitality and always offered refreshment to the visitor, who, we are told by one traveler, must needs be very hungry if he attempts to eat what they set before him. The staple article of food was Indian corn, which was treated in a variety of ways. It was ground under millstones or beaten in large wooden mortars into meal, and in this form was used to make the familiar corn bread and several kinds of mush and porridge. Broken into small grains and cooked with just enough water to keep it moist, it furnished a dish called *petit gru* (the forerunner of the modern "grits"); in coarser grains and thoroughly boiled with a larger amount of water, it formed a favorite dish called *sagamité*, which is still in common use among the Acadians and Creoles. For use on a journey corn biscuit were made, but were not highly esteemed. For this purpose *farine froide* (cold meal) was preferred. It consisted of parched corn ground into meal, and could either be boiled in water or added to broth. Green corn was also popular as an article of diet. Two crops of corn could be gathered in a single growing season, and its cultivation did not seriously interfere with the work upon other crops. Rice, beans, melons, and pumpkins were other common vegetables. Beef, salt pork, and poultry were produced on the farm, and fish and game were always to be had in abundance.

Along the Red River there was still some trade with the Indians, who exchanged deerskins and bearskins and

[23] See Fortier, "The Acadians and Their Dialect," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, VI, No. 1.

deer suet and bear's oil for shot, powder, blankets, and petty trinkets. Bear's oil was an article always in demand, and the fine heads of hair of the French women were sometimes attributed to its use. A pot of bear's oil was worth nearly as much as a bear's skin, and a single animal would furnish from four to twenty pots. The oil obtained from Indians and hunters could be sold in New Orleans at a profit of 100 per cent.

The Acadian women were fond of showy dress, but their costumes, unlike those of the New Orleans ladies, were remarkable for their simplicity. In the summer a single petticoat was regarded as sufficient apparel. The women went barefoot, not only to the fields but even to the dances, and the men, too, donned their shoes or moccasins only on dress occasions. The chief form of amusement was dancing. With these simple folk this was a passion, and they would willingly go a day's journey in order to attend a ball. The guests would arrive, some by boat, some by horse, and some afoot, and would take their seats on long wooden benches ranged against the walls. One or more violins furnished the music, and everybody danced, from grandparents to the youngest. Various kinds of refreshments might be served, ranging from gumbo to tafia diluted with water. In summer the dances were often held out of doors. The Acadian yeomen were free from any suggestion of caste, and though their manners were innocent of urban conventionalities there was in them a trace of Gallic gallantry which made these people appear much less uncouth than the English-speaking pioneer. The Acadian could woo as strenuously as he danced, and his usual form of proposal was "*Faisons le chaudron ensemble.*" (Let's boil the pot together.) When the betrothal was announced, the neighbors would assemble and erect a log cabin for the young couple.

Living upon a rich soil, with the woods at his back

door filled with game and the stream at his front door teeming with fish, the Acadian felt no incentive to severe industry. The woods furnished not only game but also building material and fuel; the river or bayou offered not only fish but also an easy means of travel and a cheap method of transporting produce. His greatest handicap was his ignorance, a condition for which he himself was not responsible.

North of the Acadian country were the three settlements of Natchitoches, Ouachita, and Concord. The last-named, on the Mississippi River opposite Natchez, consisted in 1803 of only a few insignificant huts of Indian traders. Natchitoches was the oldest settlement in Louisiana, having been established by St. Denis in 1714 as an outpost against the Spaniards in Texas. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase it numbered over 1,400 inhabitants, one-half of whom were slaves. The Ouachita district, comprising the northernmost settlements of any importance, contained in 1803 about 500 people, of whom fifty or sixty were slaves. The settlers lived chiefly on the left bank of the Ouachita River, and were scattered for a distance of about fifty miles above and below the Ouachita Post in what is now Union Parish. The population of this region was more heterogeneous than that of any other rural district in Louisiana. The earliest arrivals had been Canadian hunters. Later, Spaniards came in through Mexico and some Irish and Americans came by way of Natchez. The Irish and Americans were interested mainly in raising cattle, hogs, and horses, and had even introduced improved breeds. The French owned slaves and were raising cotton and corn. The Canadians, who were the most picturesque element of this population, were poor farmers but great hunters, and their nomadic life in the forests unfitted them for steady work. They were a profligate set, much addicted to gambling and drinking and always heavily in debt.

After obtaining their supplies on credit, they would set out into the woods early in December, having pledged their quarry for their debts even before they had killed it.[24]

In this remote region a few establishments had already been built which were fine enough to make the visitor forget that he was in the wilderness. In the vicinity of the Ouachita Post there was an especially interesting gentleman styling himself M. Badinsse, who was engaged in farming and in trading with the Indians. He lived in a well-furnished home, and was the proud owner of a library of choice works on poetry, botany, and medicine. The two latter subjects were studied for their utility, as M. Badinsse was the sole practitioner in the community and gave his services without charge. Robin was a guest in this home for several days and was entertained by some of his host's poetry, read by the latter's secretary, who is described as a monument of patience. This farmer, trader, and poet also had an opportunity to demonstrate to his guest his skill in extracting an aching tooth for one of his neighbors. Before taking his departure Robin learned with amazement that his host could neither read nor write and that he dictated his poems to his secretary, who also read to this eccentric man for his instruction and recreation from the books in his library.[25] It also transpired that the real name of the host was Badin, but that he had changed it to Badinsse because he deemed this appellation more poetic.

The effects of the French Revolution made themselves felt even in this remote region. Hither came two emigrant nobles, the Marquis de Maison Rouge and the Baron de Bastrop. They had secured from the King of Spain grants of 30,000 acres and twelve square leagues, respectively, and had planned to bring to the Ouachita

[24] Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 328 ff.

[25] *Ibid.*, II, 345-353.

district a large number of settlers, who, like themselves, were not in sympathy with the revolutionary movements in Europe. The Marquis is said to have brought with him a numerous company, including such useful artisans as jewelers and clock makers, whose services in the wilderness were not wholly indispensable. He also brought his carriage in separate parts by boat; but there were no roads for the vehicle, its wheels never crushed the virgin earth, and it returned as it had come. Its owner and his company of satellites did likewise. The Baron de Bastrop, a Hollander, seems to have been more practical. He had a plan for developing trade with the settlers and Indians and had established warehouses and employed agents and interpreters, but his enterprise also failed, largely, it is said, on account of his desire to accumulate riches too rapidly. It is likely that large concessions like these retarded rather than aided the settlement of the wilderness.

At wide intervals along the Red and Ouachita rivers and along the shores of Lake Catahoula might be found at this time the lonely habitations of pioneers from the English-speaking communities to the north and east. They were the advance guard of the great army of American settlers that was soon to sweep over this portion of Louisiana, and belonged to that type of immigrant who always runs ahead as others follow. It was said that the French in this section dreaded an Indian uprising and the coming of the Americans in about equal degree. The purchase of the province in 1803 threw open the gates for the tide of immigration from the States and ushered in a new social and political era. In the remote rural districts, however, the process of assimilation to American ideas, language, and customs has been slow, and even yet is incomplete.

LOUISIANA AND THE SECESSION MOVEMENT OF THE EARLY FIFTIES

By M. J. White

This paper is the result of a study of the attitude of the people of Louisiana toward the various issues that arose in Congress during the course of the territorial struggle of 1846-50, and of sentiment in the State regarding the acceptance or rejection of the compromise measures of 1850.

The absence of dissatisfaction comparable to that which produced the secession movements in the neighboring state of Mississippi, and in South Carolina and Georgia, invites inquiry as to what was the state of public opinion in Louisiana regarding the great questions that were agitating her sister states of the South. At the outset of this inquiry the following excerpt from a letter written to John C. Calhoun, Jan. 12, 1849, may prove of interest:

> I fear for Louisiana. New Orleans is almost Free Soil in their opinions. The population is one-half Northern Agents, another ¼ or ⅓ are foreigners. The remnant are Creoles who cannot be made to comprehend their danger until the negroes are being taken out of the fields. . . . The theory there too is that by restricting slavery to its present bounds the Lands and negroes of Louisiana would be enhanced in value. . . . Louisiana will be the last if at all to strike for the defense of the South.[1]

This passage speaks for itself.

In 1850, something over one-half of the total white

[1] J. F. Jameson (ed.), "The Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1899, II, 1188-1190.

population was born outside the State, and about one-half of these, or about one-fourth of the total white population, was natives of foreign countries,[2] and this large foreign element undoubtedly had its effect upon sentiment in general. As for the Creoles, circumstances were such that it would be extremely difficult to distinguish their attitude from that of the other natives during the period under review. The testimony of Olmsted tends to bear out the statements of Calhoun's informant regarding the Free Soil leanings of at least a substantial portion of the population of New Orleans.[3]

A comparison of presidential election returns from 1840 to 1852, inclusive, shows, after making due allowance for the influence of the personal factor in politics, that the voters of the State were about equally divided between the Whig and Democratic parties.[4] The rich sugar parishes in the alluvial sections of the State were, naturally, the centers of Whig influence; the Democrats were relatively the stronger in the pine-woods regions, particularly in the newer parishes in the northwestern part of the commonwealth. In considering the sentiment of the people of Louisiana toward the compromise measures, the influence of this large Whig element in the population must be taken into consideration. Southern Whigs, for the most part planters and the representatives of property interests, were conservative and, hence, opposed to all forms of radicalism. In Congress they had been forced to coöperate with the Democrats, and take extreme southern ground, in order to prevent the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, but after Whig success in the presidential election of 1848, they gave up this alliance, the reason being that they confidently expected to be able to carry some influence with General Taylor, a southern man and a slave owner, and thereby prevent

[2] Census of 1850.

[3] Frederick Law Olmsted, *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, 587 ff.

[4] *Whig Almanac*, 1849, 58; *ibid.*, 1853, 55.

the passage of legislation inimical to their section.[5] President Taylor, advised by Seward,[6] soon took a course of action that laid him open to the charge of being a southern man with northern principles, and affairs again assumed a dangerous aspect.[7] The death of the President, July 9, 1850, relieved a very dangerous political situation, and the elevation of the more pacific Fillmore to the presidency, together with the substitution of Webster for Seward in the office of secretary of state, opened the way to adjustment.[8] Without the aid of southern Whigs compromise would have been impossible,[9] and it was mainly due to their efforts that the secession movements in Georgia, Mississippi, and in South Carolina were crushed, and the acceptance of the Congressional settlement brought about in the lower South.[10]

During the latter stages of the territorial controversy Louisiana was represented at Washington in the Senate by Solomon W. Downs, familiarly known as General Downs, and Pierre Soulé, Democrats; in the House of Representatives, by Charles M. Conrad, Whig, and John H. Hermanson, Emile La Sere, and Isaac E. Morse, Democrats.[11] Of the senators, Downs was conspicuous in his support of compromise, especially after the report

[5] Toombs to Crittenden, Coleman, *Life of John J. Crittenden*, I, 335, 336.

[6] B. P. Poore, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis*, I, 370; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 109.

[7] Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events . . .*, II, 354; Coleman, *Life of Crittenden*, I, 364-366.

[8] Poore, *Reminiscences*, I, 384; Henry W. Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures at Home and Abroad*, 231; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, I, 95.

[9] U. B. Phillips, "The Southern Whigs, 1834-1854," in *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner*, 203-229.

[10] U. B. Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, 166; J. W. Garner, "The First Struggle Over Secession in Mississippi," Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, IV, 98, 99; Henry D. Capers, *Life and Times of C. G. Memminger*, 200-203.

[11] 31st Congress, 1st session, *Congressional Globe*, 1.

of the Committee of Thirteen, of which he was a member.[12] Soulé was equally conspicuous in his opposition to the adjustment, denouncing it in the most bitter terms, and declaring that it constituted no compromise at all.[13] The representatives, to quote a local newspaper, "followed the dictates of their own minds and voted according to the teachings of their own consciences."[14] Only one, Isaac E. Morse, took up a particularly ultra attitude in regard to the measures that made up the settlement.[15]

Sentiment among Southerners was in general hostile to the Wilmot Proviso, and Governor Johnson's strong condemnation of the bill, in his message to the Louisiana legislature in 1848, probably touched a responsive chord in the mind of nearly every man of southern extraction in the State.[16] The *Picayune*, however, was not unduly alarmed at this time if we can take seriously its "eleventh hour confession," that it had always been of the opinion that the Proviso could not by any process of political maneuvering be forced through the Senate even though it might pass the House.[17] Public opinion in regard to the proposed compromise measures, as reflected by the press of New Orleans, shows little agreement. For instance, the *Picayune* did not think highly of the Clay proposal. While admitting that it contained some good features, it was opposed to the Texas-New Mexico settlement, which it regarded as the Congressional stumbling block.[18] The *True Delta* opposed the passage of these measures in a single bill, considering such action inexpedient, dangerous, and anti-republican. It saw no objection to the Utah and New Mexico bills, was op-

[12] *Ibid.*, 251, 945; *ibid.*, app., 636.
[13] *Ibid.*, app., 630, 783.
[14] *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 3, 1850.
[15] 31 Cong., 1 sess., *Cong. Globe*, app., 630, 783.
[16] House Journal, 1848, 7-15.
[17] *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 19, 1850.
[18] *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1850.

posed to the bill abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and in place of the proposed fugitive-slave bill it advocated a bill providing for compensation from the federal treasury for slave property stolen or carried away. The acceptance or rejection of the suggested Texas boundary settlement it regarded as a matter concerning Texas alone, and it supported the California admission bill, stating that the concurring testimony of many Southerners, residents or sojourners there, afforded ample proof that slavery could not be introduced with profit. In regard to this last matter it admitted that it took direct issue with most of its contemporaries.[19] All in all, while many had a strong feeling that the North should be admonished, expressions were generally favorable to the preservation of the Union.[20]

In response to a call issued by Mississippi,[21] delegates from nine of the Southern States met in convention at Nashville, Tennessee, June 3, 1850,[22] while bitter debate upon the compromise measures was occupying the attention of congressmen and of the public at large. They met in order to consider the subject of southern relations to the Union. The moderates in attendance were able to prevent the adoption either of the program of the Secessionists,[23] or the Calhoun plan for the formation of a southern party for the defense of southern rights,[24] and the members adjourned after drawing up twenty-eight resolutions, the most important of which demanded the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific.[25] Louisiana took no part in these deliberations. Gov. Isaac Johnson, in his message to the legislature, Jan. 21,

[19] *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 20, 1850.

[20] *Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1850; *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 20, 1850.

[21] Laws of Mississippi, 1850, 521-526.

[22] Journal of the Convention, 25-29.

[23] See speech by Beverly Tucker of Virginia, in *Southern Quarterly Review*, II, 218-223.

[24] *Republican Daily Banner* and *Nashville Whig*, June 13, 1850.

[25] Journal of the Convention, 3-8.

1850, expressed feelings of lively satisfaction over the fact that the South was posing herself in defense of her rights. He hoped that a firm, united, and concerted action might avert the threatened danger to the Union, and he advised the legislature to adopt the proper means for sending delegates to Nashville.[26] His successor, Joseph Walker, inaugurated Jan. 28, 1850, concurred in what had been done by his predecessor.[27] The legislature, made up of a Democratic senate and a Whig house,[28] could come to no agreement in the matter. By the liberal use of obstructive tactics the House was able to delay action, and no delegates were chosen.[29] All available evidence leads to the conclusion that the public at large was either out of sympathy with, or indifferent to, the convention.

On Sept. 14, 1850, perhaps the most pronounced instance of an expression of public opinion that manifested itself in Louisiana during the course of the territorial struggle occurred when citizens of Claiborne, Bossier, Union, Jackson, and Bienville parishes, for the most part Democratic strongholds, held a Southern Rights meeting and barbecue, at Mt. Lebanon, parish of Bienville. Resolutions expressing decided opposition to the Clay measures, congratulations over the failure of the Omnibus Bill, earnest eulogies on the Union, approval of the proceedings of the Nashville Convention, and a determination to stand firm in demanding the extension of the line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific, were adopted. The most extreme sentiments that this occasion called forth were uttered by the Rev. Dr. Scott, of Jackson Parish, who said, in substance, that a revolution was taking place in the affairs of the country, and that the people of the South should take a decided stand, and that upon 36° 30′, or they would be overwhelmed by the worse than vandals

[26] House Journal, 1850, 6-12.

[27] *Ibid.*, 24-27.

[28] *Daily True Delta*, Nov. 23, 1850.

[29] House Journal, 1850, 43, 55-58, 63-64, 120-177.

of the North. He could not understand why the people of Louisiana were so inert. Were they not as vitally interested as the rest of the South? They were kindling a spirit "in the pine woods" and he hoped it would spread until every patriot was aroused from his lethargy. That all in attendance did not agree with Dr. Scott is attested by the fact that several of the speakers spoke in favor of the compromise.[30]

While this meeting was in progress Congress was passing, as separate bills, the very measures that had called forth the resolutions. Sentiment in Louisiana was for the most part in favor of their acceptance; the Whigs, and a majority of the Democrats, who followed a course independently of southern Democrats in general, being strong in their approval.[31] The *Picayune* pointed out that the true policy for the South was to accept the adjustment at once, as a basis of action, and to rally upon it as a final settlement. Northern agitations against the Fugitive Slave Bill and southern agitations for the encouragement of secession were alike denounced.[32] The *True Delta*, commenting upon unfavorable agitation in the South, took the ground that the compromise measures had become the law of the land and had, hence, ceased to be debatable. Why, it asked, is the agitation kept up? The discontented portion of the press denied having any object dangerous to the Union in view. It would like to have them come out openly and explain why they were disturbing the public mind by "dangerous appeals and dark innuendoes." The whole question, however disguised, it stated, narrowed down to union or disunion.[33] The *Delta* took the stand that secession was in-

[30] *Weekly Delta*, Sept. 30, 1850.

[31] John Slidell to Howell Cobb, in U. B. Phillips (ed.), "The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb," in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1911, II, 275-277.

[32] *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 18, 1850.

[33] *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 22 and Nov. 15, 1850.

expedient. "How can you secede when one-half your own people are opposed to you," it asked. The Union might be divided, but states, districts, counties, towns, families, never. "We think, therefore, that even if disunion or secession were not pregnant with innumerable dangers and evils, that the great want of harmony in the sentiments of the people of the South renders such a result impossible. And we further believe that if our people are united in feeling that they will never be driven to disunion to obtain what they may ask at the hands of the federal government." [34]

The return of Senator Downs to Louisiana was made the occasion for the expression of favorable sentiment in regard to the legislation passed during the late session of Congress. Downs meetings, as they were called, attended by citizens irrespective of political affiliations, were held at Providence and at Monroe, at which Whigs and Democrats coöperated in drawing up resolutions approving and endorsing his course at Washington.[35] This movement culminated in a monster mass meeting, held in the St. Charles theater, New Orleans, on the night of Nov. 27, 1850. Senator Downs and United States Senator Henry S. Foote of Mississippi, the leader in the campaign against secession in that state, were present and spoke in favor of accepting the compromise. Resolutions declaring attachment to the Union, and in favor of the above-mentioned measures were adopted by the nonpartisan gathering.[36]

The only serious attempt at stirring up sentiment antagonistic to the compromise, and thereby whipping the people of Louisiana into line with the secessionists in other states of the South, was made by Pierre Soulé, the junior senator at Washington. His course of conduct at the federal capital, where he had had ample opportunity

[34] *Weekly Delta*, Sept. 25, 1850.
[35] *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 22 and Nov. 15, 1850.
[36] *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1850.

to take counsel with southern radicals in Congress, together with rumors that he intended to return home and test the fidelity of his constituents to the Union, were distasteful to many, especially the Whigs, who charged him with openly advocating disunion. His political associates in the State, desiring evidence with which to meet and refute these charges, wrote him a letter, but his only reply was that he had already expressed his sentiments during the Congressional debates, that he did not retract one word then uttered, and, moreover, he was not to be tricked by the wiles of those who were bent upon breaking up the Democratic party. From then on he was deeply embroiled with the bulk of the Louisiana Democracy.[37] The events that followed seem to confirm the opinion that the Whigs and others had formed of his intentions. One was the appearance of a decidedly radical article, generally attributed to Soulé's pen, that appeared in the columns of the *Courier*. This was evidently a part of a well-laid plan upon the part of Soulé and his followers to commit the Louisiana Democrats to radical views, and it caused the resignation of the editor, Col. P. K. Wagner, mentioned as "the oldest and ablest champion of the Democratic party in Louisiana," who declared, under his own signature, that he resigned rather than propagate principles that he considered treasonable.[38] Another was Soulé's return from Washington, his intentions heralded in advance of his coming by the *Southern Press*, a newspaper printed at Washington by southern extremists.[39]

Soon after his arrival in the city he was given a serenade by his friends, and took the occasion thus offered to deliver an address against the compromise adjustment. He stated that it deprived the South of her rights, and charged that "deleterious" Yankee influence and the

[37] *Daily True Delta*, Nov. 3 and Dec. 8, 1850.

[38] *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1850.

[39] *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 19, 1850.

combination of the press, "with a few honorable exceptions," had prevented the truth of the matter being made known, and that calumny and misrepresentation had been resorted to in order to put him in a false position before his fellow-citizens. The newspaper that furnished these facts commented upon this speech as follows: "We make allowances for excited feelings and convivial outbursts, and hope, for the reputation of Senator Soulé himself, that he may be able to explain away the objectionable portion of this most singular ebullition." [40]

Upon the night of Nov. 30, 1850, a Soulé mass meeting was held in the ballroom of the St. Louis Exchange. It was preceded by a street parade, the participants marching behind a brass band and carrying a banner upon which was the following inscription: "Patriots of the South, Stand Firm, 1850." In an address Soulé indignantly denied that those who had opposed the compromise measures during the congressional discussion were hostile to the Union, and reiterated his former statements regarding the adjustment. He was clearly upon the defensive. Other proceedings consisted in the adoption of a single resolution expressing confidence in the adopted citizens of Louisiana, probably an expedient of friends who sought to help him out of a bad situation by trying to create the impression that opposition was occasioned by his foreign birth. A hostile newspaper ridiculed the committee in charge of this affair, calling it "the ludicrous admixture of Naturalized citizens with the old lees of the Native American faction." [41]

If Soulé had intended making a party question of the controversy, and all evidence seems to warrant the conclusion that he had, he failed dismally.[42] At no time during the preceding months was there any prospect of stirring up secession sentiment. As early as Sept. 23,

[40] *Daily True Delta*, Oct. 18, 1850.

[41] *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1850.

[42] *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 31, 1850.

1850, one New Orleans editor had declared that there were no secessionists in Louisiana "unless there be a few more left of those South Carolina and Georgia gentlemen, up there in the Ouachita pine woods, who formerly undertook, with so little success, to lecture Gen. Downs on texts taken from the oracles of the world they left." [43] Later on, in October, another comment, on the secession movement in other states of the South, was as follows:

> But such fierce excitement as rages in South Carolina, Georgia, and parts of Alabama and Mississippi, which presents nothing that the public mind can grasp at with a hope of improvement in the union — nothing tangible but resistance to law at all hazards and without regard to consequences — offers nothing which the people of the South ought to encourage, but which the people of this State, among whom it has not yet intruded itself for discord and disunion, will resist and keep out of their borders with all their strength.[44]

In November it was confidently asserted that "There is not a parish in this state animated by a wish hostile to the permanency of this Union; nor do we believe one hundred men could be found from the Red River raft to the Balize, willing to avow disunion sentiments." [45] After the failure of the secession movement in Georgia, the Georgia Platform was hailed as the one upon which every true friend of the South must be prepared to stand.[46] Louisiana had accepted the compromise adjustment of 1850.

[43] Quoted in the *Weekly Delta*, Sept. 23, 1850.
[44] *Daily Picayune*, Oct. 23, 1850.
[45] *Daily True Delta*, Nov. 15, 1850.
[46] *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1850.

GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

By Frederick V. Emerson

It might seem as superfluous to begin with a definition of geography, as to give one of history or algebra, for instance, except for the fact that secondary-school geography, with which we are all familiar, has a scope and content somewhat different from university geography, a much greater difference, I imagine, than exists for example between secondary-school history or algebra and the university phases of these subjects. The university concept of geography will perhaps be made clearer by a brief account of its development.

The acceptance of the theory of evolution may be said to mark the beginning of modern geography. Previously geography had been very largely synonymous with exploration and its concomitant map-making, but with an understanding of evolution, the influence of what is sometimes called "physical environment" began to be more and more appreciated. Travelers, of whom Humboldt is a type, had accumulated considerable data so that the responses of people to earth factors could be studied. The outcome was Ritter's definition of geography as the study of the earth as the home of man, which is today the essential definition of university geography.

Naturally different emphases are placed on various phases of geography in different countries. Geography is to be found in practically every German university but usually in close connection with some other department such as geology, anthropology, or applied economics. In England geography until recently has been almost sy-

nonymous with travel and exploration, a response to the widespread colonial interests of the nation. A reflection of this is seen in the pages of the *Journal* of the Royal Geographic Society which abounds with travelers' tales, some pertinent, but containing many details of hunts, camps, and what they had for meals — much good material but requiring thorough sifting. Recently the school of geography at Oxford has published some good, clean-cut work. For graduation theses in this school students take a small area, describe the surface, soil, and climate and then trace the influence of these factors from the earliest recorded time to the present. However logical, direct thinking along geographic lines is perhaps best developed in France. A splendid series of monographs has appeared, covering among other regions the Plain of Flanders, Brittany, the Loire Valley, and the Paris Basin. Each monograph includes a thorough treatment of the geology, surface, soils, flora, and climate, and then a history of the region with special reference to geographic factors.

In the United States, almost without exception geography has developed in university departments of geology. The work of American geologists on the land forms so well shown in the West and on glaciation virtually created a new line of investigations which are described by the term physiography or geo-morphology, and from the physiographers the ranks of the geographers are largely recruited. The trend of American geography during the last twelve years is well shown in the programs of the Association of American Geographers. The earlier programs consisted largely of physiographic discussions, such as problems of steam erosion, glacial studies, and meteorological investigations. For the last four or five years a rapidly increasing proportion of these programs has been given to papers which treat largely of anthropogeographic problems and investigations.

Professor Davis of Harvard, who is a leader both of the technical physiography and of the newer humanized geography has proposed an elaborate system by which to arrange the content of geography. He would separate the subject into two coördinate divisions; one the inorganic, now commonly known as physical geography, and the other the organic responses for which he has coined the term ontography. Thus in a geographic treatment of, say the lower Mississippi, he would treat under one head the behavior of the river and under the other head treat the various influences of the river upon human affairs. In short, geography, according to this concept is largely a study of *relations* rather than a study of distribution and location. These factors are, of course, fundamental in geography but they are likewise important in many other subjects. The distribution of votes as showing political parties, for example, is clearly a historical topic. But if there is made a comparison of votes in, say, the mountains and the limestone lowlands of Tennessee, the geographic factors of soil and topography must enter into the problem.

This somewhat lengthy introduction has seemed advisable in order clearly to set forth the general working idea of college and university geography. I emphasize the content of university geography rather than secondary-school geography since the college and university concept of a subject usually in considerable measure becomes stamped on the secondary-school phase.

It seems to me that geography is most intimately connected with history from the economic standpoint of history. Economic and industrial conditions usually have close connection with earth factors and they are, of course, important factors in history. On the other hand, geographic factors are not without influence on the social and political phases of history, but the relations are not so obvious as in the case of economic factors. Take a

few cases in point. The line of twenty inches of annual rainfall passes through central Kansas and Nebraska. Less than twenty inches means precarious wheat and corn, more means good crops. Moreover, the rainfall in the subarid belt and, in fact, the humid belt of this region appears to occur in cycles. In general about once in seven years there are a few years of drought. It cannot be a mere coincidence that populism had its notable development in Kansas during the dry years of this precipitation cycle, although it should not be forgotten that, superadded to the dry years, there was the general economic depression of that time. I fancy that few watch the crop weather much more closely than the administration leaders at Washington for the average voter will punish the party in power for any unfavorable crop weather. The influence of the weather on the up-state vote in New York is a matter known to every one interested in the politics of that state.

Somewhat along another line, it seems to me that a close study of the Mormon church in Utah, at least on its secular side, would show interesting responses to an arid climate. For example, the Mormon hierarchy has maintained a firm hold on its adherents and I believe this control is in part at least a response to the necessary irrigation in an arid region. Irrigation makes for small farms and a concentrated rural population, and such a concentration lends itself to effective control by a central body. It was Hilgard, I believe, who suggested that the ancient high civilization in southwestern Asia arose from the coöperation necessary in irrigating that arid region.

Again, when the present history of settlement in the arid West is written, a common mistaken response to geographic conditions must be noted. Eastern settlers are accustomed to select a somewhat-heavy soil like the limestone soils of the Blue Grass region or the silts and clays of the wheat belts, soils of proved productiveness

in the humid regions. Eastern settlers in the arid West have chosen such soils only to meet with failure in many cases because these soils absorb and hold moisture very poorly. Here the light, sandy soils, which are less productive in humid regions, are the productive type because of their excellent water-holding capacity. This recalls a mistaken geographic response so often noted in the settlement of prairies in the Middle West. The eastern settlers almost invariably chose woodland which here was found largely in the rougher country along the streams. The pioneer's belief was that the prairies, which did not produce timber, could not be productive for crop purposes.

It is perhaps safe to say that a study of the votes cast in almost any state will show some geographic differentiation of parties especially if the state has strongly contrasted districts. Schaper's study, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," [1] is a fine illustration. You will recall that he traces the sharp differences between the Coastal Plain, or "Low Country," and the Piedmont, or "High Country," differences in customs, ideas, origins, farm tenure, and politics, and that with the invention of the cotton gin and the spread of upland cotton the two sections became more homogeneous politically. Phillips, in his study, "Georgia and State Rights," [2] brings out essentially the same facts for Georgia, and Ambler, in his "Cleavage Between Eastern and Western Virginia," has set forth the sharp differences between the strongly contrasted physiographic districts of that state.

Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, in fact all the southern states, include strongly contrasted regions, and very often different, and often antagonistic, ideas and interests have developed in these areas of contrasted soil, topog-

[1] Printed in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1900, I, 237-463.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1901, II.

raphy, and industries. Even Louisiana, which outside the state is commonly believed to be somewhat uniform, has two well-marked regions, the northern hills and the southern plains which are often politically antagonistic. Illinois, a typical prairie state, which seems to the casual observer somewhat uniform, nevertheless has two well-recognized divisions, based mainly on soils and topography. Northern Illinois is glaciated, and its soils are very productive. Southern Illinois, locally termed "Egypt," is less productive and more eroded. Northern Illinois was accessible to northern settlement from the Great Lakes route, while the southern part of the state was settled largely from the border southern states. The well-known ante-bellum political differences between these sections has a marked geographic background.

The geographic distribution of slavery, both general and local, presents extremely interesting and comparatively unworked problems. The institution was established along the Atlantic littoral both north and south and by the time of the Revolution it was practically extinct in the North and growing in the South because it paid better in the South. In the South it became predominant in certain localities and was all but unknown in others. The wave of dense slave population extended from the Coastal Plain to the Piedmont and later from the Piedmont to the Black Belt. In the Cotton South the spread was conditioned by favorable soils. Of course, the development was somewhat sporadic; here for some reason there were few slaves in a fertile region and there in a rather infertile district the census reports show a somewhat dense slave population. Creed, nativity, markets, and the local economic organization were important factors in the distribution of slaves. Local studies of slavery should be very interesting since on the whole the institution was sensitive to geographic influences.

In the Mississippi Basin the influences of the rivers

are well worth study. The larger geographic responses have long been understood. The influences of the Mississippi System, together with the easy portages to the Great Lakes, on French colonization have long been appreciated, as well as the separatist movement of Kentucky and Tennessee which looked forward to unobstructed use of the lower Mississippi. A local study of the geographic influences of the Missouri River in Missouri showed a high percentage of settlers from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas, many of whom followed the easy route down the Cumberland and Ohio and up the Missouri. Many brought their slaves and their politics with them, and were, naturally, different from the people in the northern part of Missouri who came largely from states north of the Ohio.

There are several difficulties in correlating geographic factors and history and there is abundant need of caution. Economic history is more adaptable to geographic interpretation than political history, but the former offers fewer available data. Then, geographic influence is but one of many factors affecting the course of history. There are racial, social, economic, and psychological factors, not to name others, which must be considered, each mutually acting and interacting. Since the specialist's view is necessarily narrow he is liable to overemphasis. Then, again, there is a constant temptation to too easy generalization. A case in point is the oft-repeated statement that the picturesque scenery of Greece, the mountains and the sea, will account for the aesthetic development of the Greeks but it is Mahaffy, I think, who calls attention to the fact that Greek literature contains scarcely a reference to these features in a literary sense; rather the mountains are to be scaled and the sea to be combated. English writers often assert that the success of immigrants from England to America is largely due to our colder, more stimulating climate. There may be some

truth in this but the British immigrant is usually a picked man and there is open to him an economic opportunity that is denied in the mother country.

A question only to be touched here is how much technical geography is necessary to the interpretation and teaching of history, and, of course, there are so many varying factors that the question can never be categorically answered. The historian can state, for example, that the Black Belt in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia had a soil favorable to cotton, and hence the high density of slave population was there. Or he may state that the Black Belt has a rolling surface, a rich limestone soil with a high humus content, which content gives fertility and also the name of the belt. Or one may go further and illustrate with a diagram the evolution of the belts of the upper Coastal Plain. Doubtless I am prejudiced but it seems to me that the historian can well afford to give some attention not only to soils, topography, and climate but could even afford space and time for elementary explanatory descriptions for the purpose of impressing these features on the attention and memory. Especially is this true if the factors in question have played any important part.

This paper is admittedly fragmentary, both because of time and space limitations, but especially because so much work on the correlation of earth factors and human affairs yet remains to be done. The geographer should be able to set forth the surface, soil, drainage, and climate of a given region. He may also suggest how these factors have influenced human activity but his suggestions should be finally checked by and must be passed upon by, investigators in the social sciences. If such coöperation shall contribute to clearer, more explicit, and more complete interpretation and teaching of history it is surely well worth while.

GUARDING OUR FUTURE HISTORY

By Alfred D. St. Amant

As members of a historical association we are interested in history as it is written. It is fitting that we should delve into the past and regale ourselves with its glorious meaning to the race. It is proper, also, that we seize the opportunities that the present occasion affords, to learn of new discoveries of historical matter and obtain new interpretations of this or that already-known historical event. And it is right that we should recognize the cultural value of a better understanding of history on the part of the average man or woman. If all this is done properly we are able to justify our existence as an Association, and to show sufficient reason for gathering here in this City whose every street or alley yields bountiful treasures in which we may delight.

But as the final justification of any science lies in its creation of useful arts, history must be viewed as a part of a greater science as well as a branch of knowledge of value for its own sake. History, as a record of the lives of nations and races, discloses its greatest possibilities only when it records experiences the interpretation of which will serve as a guide for man in his present and future efforts.

This attitude towards history has been noticeable for many years in an increasing number of people, and there is hardly an example of the teaching, in our schools today, of an art unaccompanied by a treatment of its historical development. Even those extreme utilitarians who see no practical value in history as a subject of study never fail to dwell largely on the historical develop-

ment of their particular arts, thus leading many to suspect that a little more familiarity with other practical things in the world might give a greater appreciation of history in general.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in its article on history, says in part:

> But the tendency to look at things historically is not merely the attitude of men of science. Our outlook upon life differs in just this particular from that of preceding ages. We recognize the unstable nature of the whole social fabric, and are therefore more and more capable of transforming it. . . . Thus our whole society not only bears the marks of its evolution but shows its growing consciousness of the fact in the most evident of its arts.

And again:

> We do not regard the national state as the ultimate and final product which men once saw in the Roman Empire. It has hardly come into being before forces are evident which aim at its destruction. Internationalism has gained ground in Europe in recent years and Socialism itself, which is based upon a distinct interpretation of History, is regarded by its followers as merely a stage in human progress, like those which have gone before it.

With the present age abounding in programs for the general welfare it behooves us to take cognizance of them and to study their possible effects. What chance is there for the adoption of a program? How will one gain success or meet with failure?

There was a time when the inspiration of a Solon or the vision of a Lycurgus was all that was necessary to give a people beneficial law; and, even in later democracies, a Pericles, with definite plans and a reasonable regard for the power of the voting class could definitely plan his nation's history, as far at least as its internal affairs were concerned. But while some remnants of this old order of things may still exist, they are fast passing away and an idea no longer has to appeal to a single

sovereign or a deified leader only. Seldom do we in the present, and never will we in the future, find a czar's ukase efficiently reforming society.

The new sovereign is a many-headed creature with eyes that see in many different directions. While his final good is common to all his parts, never do all of his minds see this final good at once and, at the present time, each part seems to be striving to dominate and force its immediate interests to the front. Sometimes, attracted by the bright light of a new appealing idea or repelled by the blind fear of a shadow, the creature lurches altogether in one direction while at other times it sways in its tracks with each conflicting interest pointing to a separate road.

Of course all of us feel confident that in a democracy the right will finally predominate and that with every new struggle and after every mistake a step is made in the direction of progress. There are leaders in every group who, while guiding the group as much as possible in the direction pointed out by their own interests, see to it that the interests of other groups are not furthered at the expense of the one. This aids towards progress, for finally, through compromises between groups and the increasing cunning of the individuals of each group, all will work more nearly in a single direction.

But we may well say "How long oh Lord, how long?" In all the history of our country what appreciable improvement have we made in our system of taxation? Can we not guess what the individual's views of the tariff are when we learn to what particular industrial group he belongs and where the real or fancied interests of this group's financial leaders lie? How many men with strong views on the great questions relating to public finances have ever spent a single hour in a study of the principles involved therein? Is it not true that men, the majority of men, who are totally incapable of

speaking authoritatively on their own line of work will hardly hesitate to give a decided opinion on questions of local public policy, of national methods of business control, or of international law? Do those who agree that there *are* better authorities than themselves concede that authority to expert students of the subject, or to spellbinders and demagogues? Is it the sincere, honest, rational newspaper that has the largest following or is it that saffron-tinged monster with an india-rubber conscience?

We might say that even this makes for progress; for, in the competition of the leaders, the successful will strive to show enough good results to justify their success. This is true, because no sane man, no matter what his resourcefulness and cunning may be, can view complacently the possibility of a political revolution among his followers. He knows that once the tie is broken the crowd will just as blindly go in the opposite direction and that there will be none so poor as to do reverence to him or any of his achievements.

To those who feel that this is good I will say that they are content to endure many unnecessary evils for the sake of an ultimate good. They see, in the acknowledged fact that democracy is superior to any other known form of government, a justification for belittling its faults, which, while temporary when time is considered by ages, are serious nevertheless; and they are content with a machine whose outer form is good but whose internal mechanism will operate in the right direction only a little more than half the time. We should realize not only that by careful planning many of the defects of democracy can be remedied, but we must see that the time has come when these defects must be remedied; for the voter, who but yesterday was willing to accept a very indirect form of democracy, is today not only asking for but demanding a more direct form.

The new sovereign is realizing his power more than ever before. Just as the youth who feels his muscles hardening takes delight in feats requiring strength and glories in throwing an older companion, so does this young giant sometimes establish his own prowess at the expense of boon companions that are almost as powerful as he is and whose strength could so easily be utilized instead of being rendered useless. Also there are always men and interests goading this new Sampson on, using him often to accomplish the ends which their own selfish desires point out and he, too often, flattered by their praises goes ahead blindly battling for anything which he is told is his cause.

What a pity it is that such power should be so wasted, or even worse than wasted, in so many cases! One might say that these are just youthful trials of strength and that with each new trial greater strength develops, thereby adding the possibilities of greater future achievements in the right direction. But is the youth not already stronger than any possible adversary? Is there any danger that with careful training in the use of all his muscles to one end, defeat will ever be his portion? And is it not true that the time has arrived when this training can be given?

Never before has the time been so propitious, for the educational *Zeitgeist* is *efficiency*. Education must fit for life in the workaday world and every part of the school curriculum must undergo this acid test. In the country schools the principal stress is laid on agriculture, and in those places where the industrial system is more complex demands are constantly being made for a broader choice so that each child may study that which will be of the greatest practical benefit in his or her future life. In accordance with this spirit let us see to what extent a training for intelligent citizenship is practical.

In the first place, the training of the city youth and

that of the youth from the country must be different in many respects in order to fit for the very different occupations in which the two will be engaged; but, in the matter of training for intelligent citizenship the preparation in each case should lead to the same end. Some of our school children will be farmers, some mechanics, some professional men, some housewives; but all will need an understanding of the problems of state and nation.

In the second place, the principles on which a thorough understanding of public problems rests are in many respects identical with those which should underlie our system of industrial education. According to a recent statement of one of the higher officials of the United States Department of Agriculture, the principal defect in our agricultural training at the present time is that we have too much agronomy and too little economics. The same lack of knowledge which makes the so-called trained farmer little more than an efficient farm worker and leaves him dependent on a chance market and poor local credit systems, will also cause him to waste his public energy in clamoring after government valorization of cotton and arbitrary laws which will change this earth into a farmers' paradise. The same additional training along broader principles of industry will at once make the farmer a real business man and a broad-minded intelligent citizen. Today's utilitarian does not realize this.

In the third place, the most practical subject to teach in the school is that which will give a needed training that cannot well be given in any other way. In this connection it can be said that there is hardly anything in which the home, as well as the ordinary business activities of the average person, supplies so little real training as in a broad comprehension of citizenship. Ordinary selfish desires and a reasonably small ambition might

cause an individual to seek the advantage to be gained through a better knowledge of his work; but what basic desire is it that will prompt him to understand the broader problems of the nation and the race? That there are many publications which supply information on big topics in an interesting way there is no doubt, but on what basis is the individual to judge the merits of a question without a reasonable knowledge of the scientific principles on which it rests? There is little use in going back to the hope that the sane leader might be relied on to save the day in the future; for we are developing individualism without a noticeable improvement in real rationality, except as we ofttimes find a more selfishly canny individual where one with blind faith has heretofore existed.

Now let us see to what extent the public schools are supplying this need. In the first place a youth trained by a teacher who is almost totally untrained in civics, economics, sociology, and history is not likely to find himself a great deal better off on account of his classroom association than if he had listened to the political arguments at the village store. While the average man feels that his judgment on matters social and economic is quite as good as that of the best of public thinkers, he is unfortunately wrong; and it is frequently the case that the teacher is possessed of just enough learning of this kind to exemplify Pope's famous couplet and be a real menace to the coming citizen.

There is no use in dwelling on the fact that a teacher of the youth of our country is, in the rarest cases only, required to show any knowledge whatever of the social sciences. To be sure some history and civics, in so far as a question or so on some elementary part of the machinery of the government is concerned, are generally required of a first-grade teacher; but the other social sciences are not even touched. There are notable cases of an even greater deficiency in many of our teachers'

training institutions, a good example of which is my own State Normal School which, up to very recently did not require a single term of civics, to say nothing of the fact that, with the exception of a smaller amount of history than was required in the high school, the other social sciences were entirely ignored.[1]

And what about our high-school courses of study? Do they contain a proper amount of social-science subject matter? Is the amount of history and civics as now given sufficient for the training of the future sovereign? Should not the economics sometimes given in a few schools be made a required subject and the whole group of social-science subjects be stressed more and arranged with the sociological aim in view? If this training were for a vocation in which the student might have some choice the answer would undoubtedly be *no*; but the youth will be a citizen whether or no, and, as an indifferent or ignorant citizen is a bad one, our chance for good citizenship, a rational sovereign, and a safe future lies in a proper regard for more definite training along this very line.

It is gratifying to know that of late school authorities generally have given more attention to this phase of education; but is the real importance of the question appreciated? The United States Bureau of Education frequently sends out matter pertaining to the social sciences in general but in some of the specific recommendations of the Bureau it is clear that something is lacking. In the matter of civics, for instance, attention is particularly called to the fact that the teaching of the mere machinery of government is lacking in value, and stress is laid on the importance of local activities of government. The statement is made that it is of far greater importance that the pupil should know the duties of the local health

[1] This has been changed in remodeling the courses of study, civics and sociology now being required of all students and a full social-science course being offered for special election.

officer than that he should know how the president is elected. This is well enough except that there seems to be an assumption that a knowledge of, or an interest in, local affairs will make a good citizen. That this is not necessarily true goes without saying and, furthermore, there is little doubt that a localized training is likely to be a hindrance rather than an aid to the development of a broad-minded citizen. What is recommended that will give to the future citizen as clear an understanding of the great questions of land, labor, and capital as he is required to have of the laws of physics and chemistry? What is prescribed that will enable the future voter to pass as intelligently on the merits of a question involving the welfare of the race as he is expected to pass on the merits of the breeding and the feeding of pigs?

We need to see this thing very clearly. It is important that our young men and women know much about the natural sciences and their application to industry. Some must know the detailed technicalities of every form of production, some opportunity must be given to every child to develop his talents along any line for which he may be fitted, and encouragement must be given to the great mass of boys and girls to develop along some useful, productive line; but every boy or girl will some day be a vital part of the social organism; and what the history of the future will be depends on the extent to which we prepare them today for the duties which will devolve on them. Let us realize the importance of this and demand that the main object of education be to fit the child for life; not the life of a mechanically efficient money-getter, the success of whose every effort is to be measured in pecuniary profits and whose community service is measured by the extent to which he can promote sectional prejudice and secure sectional benefits at the expense of the nation or the race, but the life of a whole-hearted and

clear-headed human being who realizes that we are here for broad service and that we may best justify our existence by working for, and in harmony with, the group.

We need no great donations for laboratories or expensive apparatus and materials; the world is our laboratory, the general activities and the institutions of mankind our apparatus, and human beings our materials. In history we have a carefully prepared notebook showing the successes and the failures of the experiments performed by and with mankind for the past several thousand years; in economics we have the guiding science of man's material welfare; and in civics we have the underlying principles of his political experiments. With a proper use of these as parts of sociology, the science of the race itself, is there any other direction in which education will as surely bring results? With such a program would there be any need for tormenting doubts when we turn our eyes to the future? On the other hand, with the greater expansion of democracy and the increasing complexity of our civilization can we afford to be too optimistic and to take a chance on whether the pages of our future history be fair or besmirched? Does it matter how we write the record? Let us think about it.

RECENT HISTORY: TO WHAT EXTENT TO THE EXCLUSION OF OTHER HISTORY?

By Milledge L. Bonham Jr.

This topic suggests a conversation I had some years ago in the Virginia State Library with a high-school pupil.

"What are you doing here, Henry?" I asked.

"I am collecting data for my graduation essay."

"What is your subject?"

In all seriousness, he replied, "The Human Race."

My topic, then, needs to be defined. What is meant by "recent history" — the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? European history since the Industrial Revolution? Since 1900? Since the outbreak of the present war? And where is the "exclusion" to occur — in the high school or the college? In the curriculum or the course? Naturally the type of institution, the size of the history department, the library facilities, and the like will affect all of these questions. For the purposes of this paper, I shall include in the term "recent history" everything since the Franco-Prussian War. I shall glance briefly at the questions of exclusion from both course and curriculum, in both high school and college. Since history, like Henry, has for its subject the human race, I must endeavor to be equally liberal.

It is a truism that no subject is entitled to a place in the curriculum unless it does two things, namely, gives useful information and supplies mental training. History, properly taught, does both of these, but its proper teaching depends largely upon the facts selected for presentation. To tell this audience in what way history

supplies useful information would be superfluous and impertinent, but we cannot too often and too strongly emphasize the fact that the *most* useful historical data are those which explain existing institutions. Such data are valuable in direct ratio to their recency, as a general rule. Of course the origins of many of the present institutions may be traced through medieval history to the ancient world, but the most important contributions have been comparatively recent. To illustrate from the domain of economic history, the United States, in her brief life has issued about half as many patents as all other nations combined. Since, then, the recent contributions to civilization are generally the most important, they should be stressed in our history courses; usually they are *not*.

So far as I know, the plan I shall propose is not in use, in its entirety anywhere, though I have no doubt all of its various items may be found in one place or another. Tradition, the demands of other departments, lack of texts, lack of journals, lack of time, all the familiar arguments will be urged against it, so I am merely putting it forward as a scheme which I should like to see tried, and hope some time to try myself.

As far as the high school is concerned, the history courses are pretty well fixed, and seem likely to remain so for a while. We cannot expect to make any radical changes in the curriculum, so we shall have to try to modify somewhat the content of the courses. If the *Report of the Committee of Seven* be followed as a whole, even the content of the courses cannot be altered very much, but frequent opportunities will appear for contact with recent history. For example, in the course in ancient history, compare the desert march of Xenophon's Ten Thousand with the recent Turkish attack on the Suez Canal; compare the purpose, construction, and effects of the Nile-Red Sea Canal with those of the Panama

Canal; compare the economic and political causes of the Punic Wars with those of the present struggle. Naturally, the course in medieval history will offer more such opportunities, and that in modern history still more. It seems to me that in the year assigned to the period since 800, instead of devoting approximately half the session to the Middle Ages, about one-fourth would be sufficient, if the time were spent on those features of medieval civilization that have had important effects on present-day society, such as the Church, the Empire, etc., while by contrasting the economic and social life of that day with that of today the work might be vitalized. In the words of Principal Nelson of Salem, Oregon:

> The pupil who begins to study what is going on around him finds that most of it is intelligible in the light of what has gone before, and will realize for himself that only by the study of the past can we understand the present. Most of us could without appreciable injury introduce more of the inductive method into our teaching of history. We begin at the wrong end and take too long in getting from the remote past down to the living present, of which the pupil is himself a part. Most of us have experienced the sudden vitalizing of historical facts that has come to us when we have stood on a battlefield or before a great historical monument; but we too often treat our pupils as if the mere textbook could be trusted to arouse the same absorbing interest.[1]

If, as suggested, one-fourth of the session be given to medieval history treated as I propose, another fourth should be sufficient to bring us down to the French Revolution. The rest of the year, that is, about a half session, could then be devoted to the last century and a half, with the accent on the half. Similarly, in the course in English history, most of the time should be put upon the part since the accession of Henry VII, every occasion being seized to connect the events therein with analogous or resultant ones of today; for instance, the Penal Code of

[1] *History Teacher's Magazine*, VI, 85.

William III and the Ulsterite opposition to Home Rule; the Instrument of Government of 1653 and the Parliament Act of 1911. Events since the occupation of Egypt should be studied in more detail and their results noted more carefully.

Time could be saved in American history by paying little attention to the details and military events of the various wars, but rather stressing their causes and results. Two of the best and most recent secondary-school texts in American history give about one-fourth of their space to wars, although these wars occupy only about one-ninth of the time covered by the books. In one case more space is given to the Civil War than to all others combined, yet these texts are far superior to some of their immediate predecessors, in which as much space was given to the Civil War as to all the rest of our history! Since distinguished historians and scholars like Hart and Van Tyne cannot agree on the merits of Secession, it seems futile to attempt to get it settled by high-school students. Jackson's Valley Campaign was a wonderful piece of strategy, but its economic, social, and political effects are not very apparent today. Such phases might well be omitted almost entirely. Fidelity to principle as illustrated by the soldiers and civilians of both sides, the economic, social, and political effects of the four-year struggle are the things to dwell upon, and it might be profitably noted that emancipation is the lineal ancestor of the Jim Crow laws. The military aspects of the Spanish-American War seem trivial when compared with the fate of Belgium, or the strategy of von Hindenberg and Grand Duke Nicholas; but a consideration of the attitude of the Filipinos towards us after seventeen years of American rule might throw a valuable light on the question of intervention in Mexico. The time saved by omitting such things as military and other nonessential occurrences could profitably be spent on

such things as tracing the evolution of the Sherman Act and connecting it with the Clayton Act and the Federal Trade Commission. Likewise, Balboa's discovery, romantic and interesting as it is of itself, can be made of personal moment to our pupils if we show the connection between Balboa and Goethals.

Where, as in Louisiana, the suggestions of the Committee of Five are followed, and only three years of history given in the high school, the same suggestions would apply, *mutatis mutandis*.

So much for the high school. When we turn to the colleges, we find that most of them require a course in medieval and modern history as a prerequisite for all other history courses, and frequently this is all the history positively demanded of college students. Hence our first problem is with the amount of recent history to be included in such a course and how to get it there. Personally, I have never been able to find a satisfactory text for the freshman course, and doubt my own ability to write one. What I should like to do, is to spend about three weeks on the contributions of ancient society to modern civilization, emphasizing such items as Greek art and philosophy, Hebrew religion, Egyptian science, Phoenician commerce, and Roman law. Next, might be treated the Germanic invasions, the Church, feudalism, the Empire, with some attention to the economic and cultural features of medieval society. Little time need be spent on the *events* of the Crusades, the Hundred Years' War, the Guelf and Ghibelline struggles; slur the events and dwell on causes and effects. In this way the Renaissance could be reached before the end of the first term. After a brief consideration of the Protestant Revolt as partly one effect of the Renaissance, with emphasis on the causes, leaders, and results, we could then turn to exploration and discovery as another effect of the Renaissance, including, of course, the other factors which ne-

cessitated the expansion of Europe. Most of the second term could be devoted to the last century and a half, and all through the year, as was suggested for the high-school courses, the connections with current civilization should be insisted on. This assumes, what is usually true, that the introductory course is the only one required in history; a corollary of which is that many students take no other course in that subject. Therefore, if they are not made to see the functioning of past institutions in the present, in that initial course, they stand an excellent chance of never realizing it. A colleague of mine once asked a student, "What influence had Rousseau on current educational practice?" "None, professor, Rousseau is dead." We are all familiar with that tendency of the student to interpret Longfellow's injunction as to the self-interment of the defunct hitherto to mean that all history is dead, and unless we can connect it with his own interests, we run the risk of his dropping history after the first year. Connect the past with the present by means of recent history and we stand a better chance of increasing the number of those who continue history. "We have found," says Mr. Chadwick, of Gary, Indiana, "that if the work can be made of social value, the interest of the pupils is enlarged, and the greater the interest, the greater is the incentive to work, and to do better work. If a pupil is led to see that his work will be of value to his parents and to other men and women that he knows, then his desire to do good work is kindled."[2] If Mr. Chadwick be correct (and I submit that he is) *a priori*, I should say that the more *recent* history the student gets, the more potential value will he perceive in the subject. This will tend to make him elect other courses in history and pursue them more zealously.

Where more than one year of history is required of college students, certainly more time should be devoted

[2] *History Teacher's Magazine*, VI, 112.

to modern history, and of the modern period the last fifty years should get the most attention. If two years is required, I should devote one to European history from ancient times to about the Industrial or the French Revolution, treated as I have suggested. The second year, one term could be given to Europe since 1815 and the other to American history since 1876. The first year would serve the purpose of laying a foundation for the second and of giving the desired background for the courses in literature, philosophy, politics, etc. Of the term spent on European history, one-third might be devoted to the period of revolt and unification, the rest to the events of the last forty-five years or so.

It is desirable that electives be offered in recent history, but the number and nature of these courses will depend largely on the organization of the history department in each institution. The question of exclusion scarcely comes in here, as only other electives would be excluded and they might, of course, be offered in alternate years.

From the foregoing it must not be supposed that I am opposed to having a considerable amount of remote history in the curriculum. On the contrary, I recently said that we need more ancient history at Louisiana State University. Courses in remote history, as those in recent history, might be offered as electives, and the plan already in use in some colleges might be extended. That is, coöperation with other departments where there are instructors qualified to give the desired courses. These should be so ordered that they might be accredited to either department, and this would tend to attract many desirable students who would not otherwise elect history. A similar effect would no doubt be felt by the other departments. For example, a course might be offered in Roman History, which could be counted either as Latin or as History. If the former, much if not most of the

parallel reading should be done in Latin sources, prescribed by that department, and vice versa. Whether the professor of history or the professor of Latin should give such a course would depend on local conditions. The same plan could be used for a course in nineteenth-century Europe, to be coördinated with the courses in comparative politics, in economic history, in French, Spanish, English, and Italian history and the corresponding literatures. No doubt, in many cases this plan would not be feasible, but in others it would, and would, I think, have the highly desirable result of bringing about a better coördination between different departments, as well as arousing the interest of students.

But since there is little probability of the complete adoption of my scheme, let me say a word more about recent history in connection with other courses. My colleague, Doctor Fleming, gives a course entitled "The Civil War and Reconstruction." We should naturally expect an authority in that period to be rather bigoted as to its importance and apt to dwell overmuch on it, especially when he is the head of the department. The contrary is true in this case. Professor Fleming treats this period from the viewpoint of national development, tracing the various factors, personal, economic, and sectional which made for Secession, together with the results of the ensuing decades. By passing over nonessentials, he saves enough time to trace the effects of this period down to the present, concluding his course with a study of Beard's text on contemporary American history. In other words, he *includes* "recent history" in "other history" rather than *excludes* other history to make room for recent.

A student in political science asked me recently if any engagement of the Revolution took place on Louisiana soil. (In passing let me explain that I do not give the course in Louisiana history; the above-mentioned colleague has it.) When I suggested that the student go

to the statehouse and read the tablet commemorating the capture, in 1779, of the British post at Baton Rouge, by the American and Spanish allies, she was dumfounded. This merely illustrates the general neglect of local history in our schools and colleges. However, that question was suggested by the celebration of the centenary of the battle of New Orleans. It is doubtless impracticable to offer separate courses in local history, but a considerable amount may be taught by dovetailing it with more general courses. The more recent the topics treated, the greater likelihood that the students will be interested. Having aroused their interest, we can lead it back along the lines of institutional development. The part that biography would play in such a course is obvious, so I will illustrate from the field of political history. The Louisiana Supreme Court has recently decided a long-contested appointment of a state-bank examiner. Taking that as the point of departure, I found it comparatively easy to arouse the interest of some of my students in the origin of national banks, proceeding by way of the Federal Reserve Act. Apply the same method on a broader scale, ever widening the student's horizon, by connecting local and recent occurrences with those more distant in time and place, and you stand an excellent chance of really vivifying his work. Suppose the recent McManus indemnity be taken for example; we can compare the killing of McManus with the destruction of the Maine, with the pretext for the Mexican War, with the war of Jenkin's Ear, and a dozen others, and they may, in turn, be correlated with each other. Again, the dedication by Wilson and Taft of the Red Cross Building may be used not merely to introduce the women of the Civil War, but also Florence Nightingale and the Crimean War. The philosophy of the whole matter is contained in a saying of Dr. J. W. Nicholson, the beloved dean of our college of arts and sciences — "An ounce of illustration is worth a

pound of explanation." If that be true — and it is — evidently the more recent the illustration, the more comprehensible it will be, *ceteris paribus*; and the more comprehensible, the more efficacious.

Assuredly, we must not ignore the fact that our view of recent history is likely to be astigmatic, perhaps biased, and many of our data will not be based on documents. But Professor Muzzey is right in saying:

> For all the gingerly caution of historians not to come so close to the present as to spoil their perspective, we find very little evidence that remoteness in time from the events chronicled lends any great probability of agreement on either facts or the interpretation of facts. There is as much controversy over Julius Caesar today among Roman historians as there is over Roosevelt among modern politicians. As for the credibility of our facts in past history, there is little reason to think that they were selected or recorded with as much faithfulness and accuracy as are the facts of the present. There is scarcely an historical event recorded, whose credibility has not sometime and somewhere been called in question.[1]

This simply means that we must be careful, when teaching recent history, to inculcate open-mindedness. Personally, I agree with Gathany that:

> The further back we go in history, the fewer big things do we find that have a bearing on the present world of thought and action. Such things should receive serious and intensive study. Thus content would be put into those things worth while, and it would be rather difficult to forget them. Put in another way, this process of elimination means that considerably less time would be given to pre-nineteenth century European and American history, and much more time given to the study of history from the nineteenth century to the present day, the last twenty years of European and American history receiving considerable attention.[2]

Too many students are apt to get the idea of the old

[3] *History Teacher's Magazine*, III, 27, 28.

[4] *History Teacher's Magazine*, V, 225.

professor in one of Richard Harding Davis' stories, that no event which had occurred within his own recollection was historic. Instead of realizing that the more recent and personal an event, the more likely is it to be germane to their lives, such people fall into the error of which Henry Sydnor Harrison's "Queed" was accused by "Sharlee." You recall that on the memorable evening when he went to discuss with her his discharge from the *Post*, she said:

> You are a failure as a sociologist for the reason that you are wholly out of relation to life . . . You know absolutely nothing about human society except what other men have found out and written down in textbooks. You say you are an evolutionary sociologist. Yet a wonderful demonstration of social evolution is going on all around you, and *you don't even know it* . . . On the one side there is the old slaveholding aristocracy; on the other, the finest democracy in the world; and here and now human society is evolving from the one thing to the other. A real sociologist would be absorbed in watching this marvelous process; social evolution actually surprised in her workshop. But you — I doubt if you even knew it was going on. A tremendous social drama is being acted out under your very window and you yawn and *pull down the blind!*

I hope there is no danger of any history teacher's making the same ghastly mistake. There is little difference of opinion, I presume, as to the desirability and necessity of teaching that phase of recent history known as current events, or contemporary history. There is room, however, for disagreement as to whether such work should be done daily, weekly, fortnightly, or monthly; whether in class or out, by recitation or by report, by assigned topics or by the student's own selection; in a certain class or in all classes. Preferably, it should be done in all history classes, as frequently as practicable and by various methods. This is not the time for a discussion of these methods, which are well treated with regard to the high school by Nelson, in the article I have

quoted above, in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for March, 1915, and by Gathany in the number for November, 1914. In the same journal for February, 1910, Dr. Hayes discusses the question from the standpoint of the university. The "laboratory of history" which he there describes is of course out of the reach of most of us, but the parable of the talents will apply here also.

To summarize, in conclusion: By recent history, I mean the last fifty years, especially the last fifteen. This I would stress at the expense of the nonessentials in other periods. In all classes, high school and college, I would seek to vitalize the past by bringing the events studied into the closest possible touch with the lives of the students, particularly by comparing remote occurrences with recent and familiar ones.

HOW THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY WORKS

By Edward Carlton Page

In this paper we shall not attempt to argue the value of the use of actual historical objects in the teaching of history, though unfortunately there seem to be some to whom such argument might profitably be addressed. Neither will we narrate how a serviceable collection of such objects may be gathered by almost any school with very slight expenditure of money. Our own museum is not quite three years old, yet we have assembled about 2,000 separate items besides a special collection of 2,000 Indian relics donated by one of our citizens. Not counting the cabinet cases, the total expenditure has been not to exceed ten dollars, chiefly for crating and express. But we do not care now to speak at length of these things. Our object, rather, is to show by the story of the concrete workings of a particular institution how a museum of history may be kept constantly in active service.

In these days of making things concrete and of visualizing, it would seem natural that museums of history at work would be very common, at least in normal schools. Yet only a cursory investigation reveals, first, the fact that very few such schools have enough historical objects to be dignified by the term "collection," and secondly, the more striking fact that few make any real use of what they do have. A friend of ours has the museum idea pretty well developed and assembled a fair-sized collection in the normal school where he had charge of the department of history. Called to another institution, he left the museum as a legacy to his successor. After a time, he met the latter at a teachers' meeting and, of

course, inquired about the progress of the museum and especially as to its use. He was unconcernedly informed that the museum had not been of much use, for they had lost the keys two years before and had not been able to get into the cabinets! We are compelled to believe that this incident is not an isolated one but, rather, that it is typical of the mental attitude of a large proportion of teachers of history. So a somewhat detailed consideration of the ways a museum may be used will probably not be a work of supererogation.

First, then, of greatest importance is the taking of the objects into the classroom. In our own museum everything goes except a few articles too large or too heavy to move and a very few too fragile to handle. To be sure, there is danger that some things may be injured or lost or stolen, though an experience of three years has demonstrated this danger to be almost negligible. But were it greater we believe it is better to lose some things while in use rather than preserve them by "cold storage."

Of course, the taking of articles into the schoolroom and wonderingly staring at them as curiosities is of little value. Historical objects have educative value in so far as they reveal to some degree the life of other times or other climes. The teacher must see this and must help the pupil to see it or the presence of the object is of little avail. In our classes in the Normal School we constantly, by precept and by example, preach the gospel of the museum of history. When our students become student-teachers in the Training School they are expected to make large use of the museum, and they do. We give our personal attention to delivery of material to the applicants for it. No article is allowed to go out unless the student-teacher understands the significance thereof. The supervising critic teachers watch to see that correct interpretative use is made of the material.

The method of comparison is one of the most effec-

tive for bringing out the significance of articles. One way of comparison is to contrast the manner of different peoples in doing a certain thing. Thus, one class made use of our resources in the way of foot apparel. Eighteen or twenty kinds of footwear from nine different countries and three continents excited the intensest of intelligent interest. Here was the basis for many little themes, for drawings, for oral reports, and for investigations of other customs of these same people.

Another method of comparison is to contrast one age with another in its method of solving its problems. This is most helpful because it shows the evolution of phases of life. For example, we have procured about twenty-five different articles showing the evolution of the process of getting fire and making a light. When children have whirled the primitive fire-stick until it begins to smoke, when they have struck a spark with flint and steel, when they have actually made candles by dipping and by molding them in molds 150 years old, when they have contrasted a replica of the original incandescent lamp with the latest tungsten pattern — when they have done these things and others, they have not simply been learning how men came up from primitive limitations towards rational freedom but they have actually experienced the process. The enthusiasm which illumines the countenances of children living such experiences affords compensation to the schoolmaster for many weary hours of drudgery.

Pupils appreciate most those things they are allowed to handle and use. Accordingly we encourage this in all cases possible. A little procession around the schoolroom with "Wide Awake" caps and capes, torches, flambeaus, and a Civil War fife will do more to make the old-fashioned campaign a reality than all the books in the library. A few days ago we quizzed a sixth-grade class about the early life of Franklin and one of them made the

remark that Franklin's father was a tallow-chandler. We asked what that was and were told he made candles. We asked if they knew how candles were made and they answered, "Yes," with enthusiasm. When asked how they knew, they fairly shrieked, "We've made 'em." The fact that the molds were as old as Franklin's time did not detract from their interest. For them, at least one phase of the past was a living reality.

After using things from the museum, pupils occasionally write us letters telling what they have learned from the material. These letters are highly instructive as to the workings of the child mind and are a serviceable guide as to how to utilize objects to the greatest advantage.

Some idea of the extent to which articles are taken from the museum may be obtained when we state that 225 separate items were taken out in fourteen weeks of the fall term. In eleven weeks of last term 236 were taken out. Things are in brisker demand this term. Last week thirty-four items were taken out in one day. Twenty-seven of the items were material illustrating the financing of the Civil War — Confederate currency (state and national), a Confederate bond, a United States bond in facsimile, an income tax receipt, a promissory note, a will, a bank check, and a photograph, all bearing war-revenue stamps. Other articles of the day were various Indian relics. The day before, United States and British flags and a colonial hornbook (in reproduction) were in demand. About the same time photographs of colonial exteriors and interiors were called for. These demands may be considered typical of the variety from day to day.

Next in importance to taking the museum into the schoolroom is taking classes to the museum. To get the greatest value out of such visitation requires a good deal of care. If classes are too large it is difficult to give edu-

cative guidance. Consequently, we encourage their coming in small groups. Then there is danger that the pupils, attracted by curiosity, will glance at many things without intelligently seeing anything. To obviate this we select a comparatively narrow range of related objects, let them observe these with such explanation as may be needful, and then send them off with the eager desire to come again and study other things. To facilitate this process one or more teachers always accompany the pupils. Where it seems necessary, the teachers themselves are instructed beforehand in regard to the objects, in order that they may assist in explanations. Of course, these class visits are frequent from our own Training School and from the ward schools of the city. But not infrequently teachers of country schools near at hand and of village schools on the interurban railways bring in their pupils for study in the museum. In every case we endeavor to focus their attention upon some particular group of articles illustrating some phase of history, in order that they may carry away something definite and lasting rather than a confused and fleeting recollection of many things.

We regard very highly for educative purposes special exhibits. These are made up of material segregated from the remainder of the museum and selected because it expresses a unitary idea. The anniversary of an important event, the illustration of the evolution of some phase of history, etc., are the occasions for these special exhibits. We aim not to have them frequently enough to become commonplace and yet we want them often enough to be expected.

We have had five such displays so far this school year. The first was in celebration of the centennial of the Star Spangled Banner. Perhaps the most striking feature was an exact replica, four feet long, of the original Star Spangled Banner. The next display was in

celebration of Chicago Day, October 9. Relics of the fire and of the Columbian Exposition, including the eighty official photographs of the Fair by Jackson, were the most interesting parts of the exhibit. Another interesting display was a series of colored posters showing the military uniforms of the Europeans engaged in the present war, an account of their national songs, and a twelve-inch silk flag of each. Perhaps our most extensive exhibit, and the one best wrought out, was put on in February, showing how men have solved the problem of apparel. It must have consisted of 150 or more items, large and small. A newspaper description of the display is printed as an appendix to this paper. Just at present a rather varied display of things from the Philippines is on.

In course of time nearly every article in the museum will be segregated for particular study in these special exhibits. Many articles will appear several times in different groupings. We are careful to have a well-defined unitary idea back of these groupings and we endeavor to make this idea clear by ample labeling, by public explanations to our student body, and by newspaper articles.

We are fortunate in the possession of an admirable exhibition hall. There is a spacious, well-lighted corridor adjacent to the history department. Around the walls of this corridor and in portable cases there is ample room for a display as extensive as we can ever desire. Through this corridor nearly every student in school passes nearly every day in the year. Consequently, the exhibits are admirably obtruded upon the attention of all and easy opportunity is given for a study of the exhibit item by item at odd moments without sacrificing time. And they do study again and again, as much as anyone could reasonably wish.

We try to time special exhibits when there are unusual gatherings at the Normal School or in the com-

munity. Notices in the local press apprise the public of the particular attraction. That the public is interested is manifest. Not long ago the Woman's Club held a session in the Normal auditorium. Before and after the session upwards of 200 people visited the special exhibit and the museum proper. Last summer the Commercial Club held a merchants' picnic in a neighboring park. During the day fully 500 people visited our collections.

We are just inaugurating a new kind of special display. Every now and then we shall put out in our exhibition hall those articles which have been acquired during the preceding two or three months. Of course, there will be no unitary idea back of the array but it will afford visitors a chance to give the articles a "once over" before they go into the general collection. It will also, doubtless, stimulate some to make contributions to the museum.

We endeavor to apply the special exhibit idea out in the community as well as at the Normal School. On a number of public occasions we have made special displays of material appropriate to the occasion. On one of its social evenings the Commercial Club had short addresses on Mexico. We took down a case well filled with articles from Mexico which attracted a good deal of attention. A children's missionary meeting was enlivened by an array of things from mission lands. Occasionally we have a small collection of more than usually interesting material in the show window of some of the local stores. These instances are typical of others of a similar nature in which we seek to serve the public.

In passing, we may remark that the press of our city is extremely liberal toward our enterprise. Every few days there is something of interest pertaining to the museum. Sometimes it may be only a paragraph. Often it is a column or more. Our special exhibits are always liberally noticed. Of course, this attention very materi-

ally extends the usefulness of the museum and helps to make it a bond between the school and the community. The Commercial Club, too, helps by issuing a little folder which is sent out by the business men of our city by the ten thousand. It enumerates among the attractions of DeKalb the "Normal Museum of History."

Another method of putting the museum to use is to take an object or series of objects as the basis of a public address. Just at present we are giving a number of talks on the evolution of weapons to the general assembly of Normal School students and Training School pupils. We have fifty or more articles, ranging from the rude war club of the South Sea Islander up to the modern breech-loading rifle. About all the important stages of development are represented except the match-lock musket. Some specimens are rare, such as a deer's rib with a flint arrowhead still imbedded in it, and a paper cartridge of Civil War times. It is hard to tell who are most interested in the exhibition and accompanying remarks — faculty, students, or primary pupils. It is a capital illustration of how a comparatively uninteresting subject may be illumined and made understandable, even to children, by the use of concrete material.

In a literary way the museum is largely used. Its stores afford the subject for many themes in the classes in English. The whole senior class of upwards of 150 members recently was required to get its inspiration for its weekly theme from the museum. A whole number of the *Northern Illinois*, the school paper, was devoted not long ago to the same topic. The *Norther*, the student annual, gives liberal space to the same thing. It is needless to say that these things lead to a widespread and an attentive study of the museum collections.

It may be wondered what we do with our museum from the ordinary viewpoint as a repository and place of display of historical material. Here also we endeavor

to obtain the maximum service. First, the museum rooms are always open. The doors are not only not locked but also never closed. Whenever the Normal building is open, anyone can visit the museum. Secondly, we are very careful to arrange the material so that all objects on display may be seen. We have observed that in most museums, except the largest, where they are not limited as to space, many things are so placed as to be seen with difficulty, if at all. We would store things entirely out of sight and exhibit them only occasionally rather than have them only partially visible all the time. In the third place, we try to group objects and to label them so that they will be self-explanatory. By so doing we enable every visitor to obtain knowledge as well as entertainment from his visit.

We have already indicated the attention our special exhibits receive from school and public. But when there is nothing out of the ordinary to see, the number of visitors is gratifying. There is hardly an hour in the day when some one is not wandering about the rooms, mostly students, of course, but also many others. On a recent Saturday we were at our office most of the forenoon. It is necessary to pass the office door in going to the museum. It is safe to say that there were at least fifty visitors, although there was nothing unusual to attract them. We discover that a good many get in Saturday afternoons, although only a rear door of the building is open and only the caretakers are there. Even on Sundays many gain admittance through the courtesy of the superintendent of the building or of members of the faculty who have keys.

We trust that by this time it may be inferred what is our notion of a museum. Our ideal of a museum is a room spacious enough and amply supplied with shelves and cases for all of a collection but with everything empty. We would have *everything out at work all the*

time in the schoolroom or in special exhibits. Why? Because in this manner a museum may be a mighty aid in making the past ages live again, which is the chief function of the teacher of history. This reminds us of our text for this "sermon" which we forgot at the beginning but which will do as well for closing: "The historian fondly imagines his great trouble is to find the truth of the Past. Simple-hearted creature! His supreme difficulty is to make the Past thinkable."[1]

APPENDIX: FROM THE DE KALB *CHRONICLE*, FEBRUARY 10, 1915

Page Goes Into Clothing Line

HISTORY TEACHER AT THE NORMAL HAS MOST CLEVER EXHIBIT

Apparel of Every Kind

Wearables of All Periods and All Lands are Shown in Novel Collection in the Museum of History at Normal School

Few normal schools have a museum of history and some of those that have make little use of their collections. That of the local Normal School is distinguished from most others by the very active use which is made of the material. Special exhibits are one of the means by which its resources are put to use. At the present time there is on display in the east corridor on the second floor of the main building an exhibit of articles showing how men of other times and of other climes have solved the problem of apparel.

Here is a series of small models (or dolls) showing the dress of various classes in China and Korea. The bamboo sweat-jacket and sweat-cuffs from Korea are curious. Eighteen kinds of footwear from three continents and nine different countries, the oldest article dating back to 1778, indicate a surprising variety in this line.

[1] N. W. Stephenson in *Drama*, May, 1912, 202.

A baby hood, bonnets, an old lady's cap, three kinds of Korean hats, a Mexican sombrero and reproduction of a Middle Age helmet show the head covering of men. Hand-wrought wedding veils of a hundred years ago and a wedding vest of cream-colored silk of sixty years ago, and a Korean bridegroom's hat appeal to sentiment.

A man's shawl of Civil War times, a "Wide Awake" cap and cape, a Mexican rain-coat, and a poncho from the Spanish-Americas exhibit a variety of top coats. Thomas S. Murray's service uniform worn in the Porto Rico campaign, displayed "life size," has been promptly dubbed "Dannie Deever" by the students.

Old brass buttons, a pewter button, Filipino buttons made from oyster shells, clam shells with the holes in them made by cutting out disks for pearl buttons, and an encyclopedia of 1765, with a full-page cut, showing the old process of making buttons by hand, constitute an interesting chapter on buttons.

Bracelets, wrought of hair, earrings, an immense amber back comb, bamboo combs from China, and a Filipino necklace are from the realm of feminine ornamentation. A Chinese fan, a Korean fan, and some "sweet girl" graduate fans give some indication of the evolution of the cooling process.

Silk "visiting" aprons reveal the social proclivities of our grandmothers. Bustles of varying sizes and hoop skirts show the frivolities of a generation ago.

There are spectacles of colonial days and some not so old, but still queer, as well as a pair from Korea. Native fabrics from Hawaii and the Philippines attract attention.

A series of fashion plates goes back as far as 1790. One of 1894 is about as curious as any in the list. A dry goods price list of 1864, with present-day prices in the margin, reveals some rather startling facts.

The list of implements for manufacturing clothing (some of them about 200 years old) is rather extensive — a cotton spinning wheel, flax wheels, a flax hetchel, wool cards, a swift for skeining, a clock reel, a niddy-noddy, a tape and garter loom, one of the earliest Wheeler & Wilson sewing machines, a sewing bird, etc.

But there are many other articles in this exhibit, all designed to show the one idea of the evolution of apparel. The public is invited to visit and study this display. It will be in place until about the middle of next week. If anyone discovers he has articles which would add variety to the collection, his coöperation will be welcome.

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